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## THE VISUAL RECONSTRUCTION OF HISTORY

**H**ISTORICAL pictures, whether contemporary records or imaginative reconstructions, have aroused much controversy. Gérôme's "Pollice Verso", West's "Death of Wolfe", David's "Oath of the Tennis Court", and "Death of Marat", Velasquez's "Surrender of Breda", and innumerable other historical paintings have been discussed, more or less critically, by historians, and declared to be incorrect in detail, if not false in general plan and conception.

In this respect they have shared the fate of written history. The travellers' tales of Herodotus, the speeches of Thucydides, have not escaped censure. Grote, Gibbon, Macaulay, Michelet, and Lamartine are all alike suspect. A superficial acquaintance with the historical writing of to-day reveals the existence of antagonistic schools of thought on every period and every topic, and a resourceful ingenuity in special pleading peculiarly modern. We are led inevitably to the trite conclusion that there is no finality either in the written or the pictorial interpretation of history.

The critical examination of written history, the comparison of source-documents, are marked features of modern historical study. The pictorial reconstruction of history too frequently displays the lack of a corresponding degree and quality of discrimination. We are wholesomely distrustful of every written statement, we read between the lines of official communications and reports, we estimate the discount necessary in valuing the personal memoir or the familiar letter; yet only too often we are gullible or bewildered when we encounter a pictorial or a material document, a supposedly contemporary portrait or view of an incident, an implement, or a weapon.

The present paper aims at nothing beyond a suggestion of some of the many problems which confront the pictorial illustrator of history, whether he confines himself to the use of contemporary

records, or ventures into the more perilous region of imaginative reconstruction.

As to the use of the contemporary picture, which the purist historian regards as the only legitimate method of illustrating history, let us say at once that it is no more and no less reliable than the contemporary written or printed document. It also is subject to limitations, and these peculiar to itself; it also requires qualification, commentary, and exposition.

Let us indicate some of the questions aroused by the examination of an historical picture. What and where is the original: a painting, a drawing, an engraving, or a photograph? When, and in what circumstances was it made? At the time, on the spot, from memory, or from the description of another, and that other an eyewitness? If it is a print, some process of pictorial reproduction was employed: is it wood-cut, line metal engraving, stipple, mezzotint, aquatint, lithograph, *etc.*? Such questions, elementary though they may be, are yet frequently ignored.

Some knowledge of printing processes is required. Often the process used in reproducing a picture will give a clue as to its authenticity as a contemporary work. Processes date themselves as definitely as buildings or styles of furniture. A process may not have been in vogue, may not even have been invented at the time of the subject depicted—sure evidence that the print under examination is later in date than the event, though possibly derived from an earlier and contemporary drawing. Recently I was informed of the existence of an oil painting on canvas and stretcher, inscribed on its back, "View of the Island of Runnymede, painted at the time of the signing of Magna Charta". Truly, a precious antique, and decidedly disturbing to our orthodox ideas of the history of art, since we are given to understand that at that early period the practice of mixing pigments with oil was not followed, nor was canvas used as a surface on which to paint. In a Canadian local history of considerable merit I found a letter written by a militia captain to his colonel in 1805, referring to a "picture" of his company at parade, which he encloses. The word "picture" was a puzzle, but from the context it appeared that the captain probably meant "schedule" or "muster roll". This unusual application of the word led the author of the history to indulge in some reflections on the inestimable value of this old "photograph", if it could be unearthed. Inestimable indeed it would be, antedating considerably the inventions of Niepce and Daguerre.

Before the days of photographic reproduction there was often a great discrepancy between the original drawing or painting and the printed copy. This was due to several causes—to the engraver's ignorance of the subject depicted, to his inadequate skill, to the aesthetic conventions of his time. A few concrete examples taken from the pictorial history of North America will show this. Among the earliest known pictures of Indians by an eyewitness were those made about 1585 by John White, the governor of Raleigh's Virginia colony. The original drawings have been in the British Museum since 1865. Engravings from these drawings were made by Theodore de Bry, and published by him in 1590. Years later, in 1624, John Smith published his *Generall historie of Virginia*. It was illustrated by an unknown artist, who apparently made use of several of de Bry's engravings. A comparison of White's original drawings and their copies is instructive (see plates III, IV, V). White concerns himself with details of costume, physical character, and tattooing, matters of accurate observation and record. De Bry *improves* the drawing of the figures to conform to the classical academic conventions of his day, and mistakes or omits some of the character, such as gesture, texture of materials, tattooing, etc. The artist of Smith's history strays still farther from accuracy and introduces the figure of Smith himself.<sup>1</sup> De Bry in the main follows White's drawings faithfully; but he occasionally indulges in flights of artistic fancy, and in the hands of his sons who succeeded to his business, later de Bry engravings reveal curious misinterpretations. Thus more than once we see Indians bearing quivers, which, instead of being represented as made of skin or of wickerwork, as they must have been, are shown as classically designed metal quivers, which might have graced Trajan's column or the arch of Constantine (see plate VII).

More familiar specimens of artistic misrepresentation, due to the engraver's ignorance of the subject, are the views of Champlain's habitations of Quebec and Port Royal. We have not the original drawings; but some sort of drawing and description must have been supplied by Champlain. He *could* draw passably himself, as his original sketches for his *Brief discourse* in the John Carter Brown Library in Providence demonstrate. The habitations most probably were wooden constructions, with perhaps a little masonry for foundations, fireplaces, and chimneys,

<sup>1</sup>Admirable engravings of these pictures, and well-informed notes upon them, are given in *The pageant of America I: Adventurers in the wilderness* (New Haven, 1925-7).

surrounded by log palisades. Otherwise they could not have been erected in the short space of time spent upon them. The engravings, if they give any idea at all of the materials used, suggest massive masonry ramparts and houses. Champlain possibly had no opportunity of checking the plates while in progress, possibly he was indifferent about such minor details; and the engraver, acquainted only with solid European fortifications, depicted structures of stone much more substantial than those thrown up in the circumstances of building in the wilderness of New France.

Every period has its artistic conventions; even the most original artist can speak only in the idiom of his time. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the classic ideal guided the hand of the author and the artist alike. In painting we see its influence surviving well into the nineteenth century, despite the assaults of the romantic movement and the later disintegration of realism. Paul Kane's Indian pictures reveal this classical hold-over. His drawing of the details of costume, of canoes, of wigwams, is accurate; his portraits of Indians are full of character, they are ethnological documents of great value. But his observation of Indian characteristics seems to stop at the neck. When he depicts the full-length figure, the pose, the action, the physical characteristics all remind us of the antique. The Indian chief suggests the statue of Apollo Belvedere, beau-ideal of the mid-nineteenth-century connoisseur. His horses are not Indian ponies, pintos, or cayuses, but Arab steeds careering with the outspread legs of the race-horse of the sporting prints of the period. For the buffalo he had no precedent, and consequently he gives some real construction and character to the animal, but its gallop is the same conventional *ventre-à-terre*. It is only within the last fifty years that the individual physical characteristics of the Indian have been really studied and depicted by artists such as Remington and De Forest Brush.

Benjamin West's "Death of Wolfe" marks a significant stage in the development of art in relation to history. It is a typical specimen of the "history picture" as conceived by the late eighteenth century. The circumstances of its production reveal the artistic conventions, as well as the professional ethics, of the period. When it was first exhibited, in 1771, it was considered a daring innovation, since it discarded the tradition that the "dignity of history" required that the figures should be nude, or draped in classical robes. West substituted for these antique mantles and togas some semblance of the costume and uniforms



of the time. Yet, though painted only twelve years after the date of the event which it depicts, when many of those who took part in it were still alive and able to give exact information, the picture is incorrect in many of its details, as well as in its general arrangement. Few of the personages shown in the picture were actually present at Wolfe's death, some were not even in the battle of the Plains, their duties lying elsewhere at the time. It is a revelation of the ethical standards of the age to learn that the painter exacted a fee from those whose figures were introduced into the picture, whether truly there or not. West is said to have defended his innovation in costume in these words: "The same truth which gives law to the historian should rule the painter. If instead of the facts I introduce fiction, shall I be understood by posterity?" Posterity understands him pretty well, and considers his picture valueless as an historical record; and happily, since West's time, the artistic conscience has become more enlightened and sensitive. Nevertheless, in justice to the picture, it must be admitted that it *does* convey, in a measure, the dramatic quality of the event, and to this imaginative vision is due the popularity that called for several replicas, and that gives the picture an interest for to-day.

In sculpture the classical tradition held with equal or greater tenacity. We had in Canada an example in the bas-relief of the death of Brock which was placed on the first monument which stood at Queenston from 1826 to 1840 (see plate VI). Here we see the dying hero with breast, shoulders, and arms nude or veiled with antique drapery; his legs are nondescript, the thighs suggesting the tight military breeches of 1812, the lower legs tangled in more drapery, terminated by a hint of the toe of a military topboot. The kneeling soldier who supports him is clothed in uniform as to his body, but his leg, too, shows more of the classical ideal than of the prosaic realism of trousers and boots. The full-fleshed naked Indian completes the composition and allows the sculptor the unhampered expression of the Graeco-Roman tradition, which also transforms the reversed tomahawk into a ponderous battle-axe sort of weapon.

Portraits themselves are affected by changing artistic fashions. At the present time, the academic gown seems to be much the mode, especially if the sitter's degree is an honorary one; and in face of the prevailing sombre hue of masculine clothes, the painter eagerly welcomes the splash of a silken hood, even though at times the colour combination is not altogether harmonious. In

the eighteenth century the fashionable military portrait sometimes shows the general wearing armour. Thus the well-known portrait of Jeffery Amherst depicts him in plate armour of the sixteenth century or earlier, while a helmet with visor rests upon a map of Canada beside him. Oddly consorting with these medieval details are his sash and jewel of the order of the bath, his eighteenth-century wig, and, in the background, a view of his boats descending the rapids of the St. Lawrence. Certainly he did not encumber himself thus on this dangerous undertaking. We accept the convention; but such portraits cause confusion in the minds of youthful students and casual readers, unless accompanied by some commentary from those who know and can explain. In the case of the familiar half-length portrait of Montcalm, wearing a cuirass beneath his eighteenth-century velvet coat, however, it is probable that the artist is true to the facts. It is known that French officers wore the cuirass in battle until about 1775, long after the general use of armour had been abandoned. Several years ago Sir Arthur Doughty made known the existence of Montcalm's cuirass, showing bullet-marks, preserved by his descendants at the Château d'Avèze, in France. In the British army the last remnants of armour to survive were the crescent-shaped gorget worn below the cravat, and the chain-mail epaulets of some cavalry corps.

Observers of the portraits of the missionaries of New France, such as Jogues, Brébeuf, *etc.*, have been struck by the effect of protuberant, full-fleshed lips, which seem to contradict the known asceticism of their characters. On examination it is perceived that this effect is caused by the contrast with the beard and moustache by which the lips are surrounded. Ecclesiastical etiquette permitted missionary priests in the field to wear beards—as to-day our Oblate fathers in the north-west—but with the injunction to trim the hair carefully around the mouth, so that in partaking the Sacrament, none of the precious elements should be spilled. This detail of the draughtsmanship of a missionary portrait may perhaps be taken as a kind of internal evidence of its authenticity as a contemporary production.

And this leads us to the consideration of the artist's ability to seize character, a prime requisite for a portrait painter, whether his work be viewed as art or as history. A portrait by a great painter or draughtsman, such as Velasquez or Holbein, is an affidavit, before which we are ready to affirm that thus and so veritably must have appeared Henry VIII or Pope Innocent.

But such integrity of vision is rare. The artist's eye is seldom so penetrating, nor his hand so sure, and not always is the sitter content with the faithful record, "warts and all", such as Cromwell is said to have exacted. To the limited perception and halting execution of the mediocre artist must be added the vanity of the sitter; and thus many of our historic personages probably exist for us to-day more as they wished to look than as they really appeared.

So far as Canada is concerned, such early portraits as exist are nearly all of them nebulous or feeble in characterization. Romney's "Brant" is perhaps the most meritorious: it is almost our only work by a master, and even it seems deficient in Indian character. What would we give to have had an engraved portrait of Frontenac by Nanteuil, the artist of the superb Turenne portrait and a score of other eminent Frenchmen of his day? Or a full-length of Champlain by Philippe de Champaigne, the painter of Richelieu?

It should not be necessary at this day to mention the fact that the portraits that passed for likenesses of Cartier, of Frontenac, and of Champlain are neither authentic nor contemporary; but their reappearance from time to time in popular works compels the conscientious historian to a sort of continuous repudiation. Margry and Myrand<sup>2</sup> have shown the origin of the supposed portrait of Frontenac on his death-bed in that of a Swiss doctor of the next century; and the false effigies of Cartier and Champlain have been effectively demolished by Dr. H. P. Biggar.<sup>3</sup>

In the absence of genuine portraits from life, it is inevitable that some form of imaginative pictorial personification will come into existence. If these portraits are acknowledged to be ideal representations, the ethics of history are safeguarded; the criticism of such works must then change its approach, and the questions to be asked are whether the artist's version seems consonant with the known character of the person represented, with his occupation, and his environment. The familiar so-called portrait of Cartier *does* seem to satisfy tolerably our conception of the sturdy Breton sea-dog, and creates a type which reaches its highest artistic development in the spirited statue of him at St. Malo. So, too, the dramatic Frontenac of Philippe Hébert, on the facade of the Legislative Building at Quebec, is an adequate visualization of the fiery old governor. It is likely that the psychological soundness of these two conceptions will fix their types permanently in the

<sup>2</sup>Ernest Myrand, *Sir William Phips d'avant Québec* (Quebec, 1893), 384 ff.

<sup>3</sup>CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, VI (2), June, 1925; (3), Sept., 1935; I (4), Dec., 1920.

popular imagination, and it may be claimed for them that they are at least as illuminating as the verbal analyses of most historians. But the case of Champlain is different. He is our most conspicuous victim iconographically. The smug countenance that passed for his was always distrusted, if not detested, by discriminating observers. Professor Wrong discarded it in his school histories years ago, with the incisive comment that "the man with that face never discovered anything". The ill-fortune which originally foisted upon us this feeble conception seems to have affected some of the more ambitious artistic attempts to realize him. His statue at Ottawa perpetuates an error in the use of the astrolabe by showing him holding the instrument by the base. The sculptor evidently mistook the small projection at the bottom of the disc for a handle, instead of a mere weight to steady the astrolabe when suspended by the ring at the top, as it should be (sometimes from the thumb), so that it might hang perpendicularly. The statue at Orillia represents him wearing breast-plate and heavy boots reaching above the knee. Doubtless he wore boots on ship-board, and on horseback in France; but certainly a seasoned voyageur like Champlain never stepped into a birch-bark canoe, or climbed a slippery Georgian bay rock with such foot-gear. It is particularly unfortunate that a monument which commemorates his explorations in the interior of Ontario should be marred by so glaring an incongruity. It spoils what is otherwise a capable and satisfactory work, albeit perhaps somewhat lacking in the vigour and simplicity which we associate with the father of New France.

Other obstacles to the clear reading of many old drawings and engravings are faulty perspective and incorrect proportions. Champlain's drawing of the habitation of Quebec, or the engraver's version of it, which is all that we have, is a puzzle in perspective. It is difficult to determine its height, which seems excessive, whether it is square or obtuse-angled, and to understand the exact relations of the drawbridge and the entrance. In default of anything more precise, it is invaluable, but it leaves us still baffled as to its exact shape and many of its details. In the matter of proportions, conclusions have been drawn from the size of the animals depicted in old pictures, which, on reflection, are open to question or qualification. Early drawings and woodcuts of ploughing scenes, *etc.*, show the oxen undersized by comparison with the men. This has been cited as an additional proof that the cattle in the past were smaller than they are to-day. The

primitive artist was not strong on proportions, and one might as reasonably calculate the size of the buildings or the ships of the middle ages from the proportions which they bear to the human figures as depicted in the pages of illuminated missals. Existing suits of armour and articles of clothing indicate that the men and women were also smaller. The relative proportions of men and beasts were possibly about what they are to-day.

Nor, when we examine the objects themselves (preserved in museums and collections), are we on absolutely safe ground, or secure against erroneous deduction. Every museum contains certain articles whose pedigree is largely traditional, the legacies of earlier and less critical or less informed days. Even when authentically of their time, the specimens which have survived are not always typical. The exceptional piece is preserved, while "the run of the mill" disappears with use and time. The weapons, the armour, are often unique or "parade" pieces, or are treasured because of their associations with certain local families or famous personages. The arquebus, inlaid with ivory and gold, the masterpiece of some renowned gunsmith, executed for "his majesty" or "his grace", and which perhaps never fired a shot, survives in mint condition, while the weapon carried into battle by the rank and file at the same period has perished. To-day, for our technical and historical museums, these humbler but more universally characteristic objects are being carefully sought and preserved: a parallel movement to that which is going on in the domain of the written document, when account books and bills of lading are being studied as minutely as acts of parliament and royal edicts.

Much has disappeared forever. Two of the most characteristic articles connected with Canada are the birch-bark canoe and the snow-shoe. Is there anywhere an adequate collection of either, showing the local variations due to differing topographical conditions? I know of only one monograph on each of these subjects, which considers them thus comparatively. Sleighs survive in diminishing numbers, but for many of the styles of these vehicles in the past we must depend upon early views of Quebec, *etc.*, and the pictures of such artists as Krieghoff. We read of stoves in New France; the Simcoe canvas house was heated by stoves. How did they look? Where can we see any actual examples? Here and there genuine antique stoves from Three Rivers, the St. Maurice Forges, or the Normandale Furnace in Upper Canada, may be found; an authentic Franklin stove in Canada would be a discovery. The sawmill was the germ of

many a settlement: a few wheels, a few of the original buildings remain; but they are merely the shells; the primitive machinery, the perpendicular saws, have long since disappeared; and he who wishes for exact information is condemned to a long and almost fruitless search through technical handbooks of the time, themselves now almost extinct. The list of missing articles might be lengthened considerably.

Many pre-European objects, especially, have been lost. Articles of the more enduring materials, stone, clay, bone, are fairly numerous and have been studied with care and intelligence. But the more fragile articles are practically non-existent. For most of our knowledge of aboriginal garments, of baskets, of many implements, as they were before the influence of the white man, we are driven to the pictorial record; and bearing in mind the artistic limitations suggested earlier in this paper, it is unfortunate that we have no actual specimens by which to check the accuracy of the early draughtsmen of these articles of human hand-craft. How interesting it would be to be able to examine a canoe which had been cut out and put together with the copper or stone knife and the bone bodkin of the primitive Indian. For the tools used necessarily affect the shape and finish of the object. Perhaps the most striking example of the influence of European tools on native workmanship may be seen in the totem poles of the Pacific coast Indians. Webber, the artist of Cook's voyage, in his drawings made on the spot, shows totem poles only inside the houses; there is none *outside*, in his views of Nootka villages (see plates I, II). Specimens of these shorter interior poles in our museums indicate that they were carved by primitive tools of bone or stone. The taller exterior specimens are carved with a sharpness and finesse possible only with steel tools which were supplied by trade with the white man. To a working artist the comparison of these two types is most instructive as an evidence of the effect of implements upon the development of an art or a craft, upon its style no less than upon its technique. The European contact apparently came at the most favourable time for the Indian sculptor. He had reached the limit of his power of expression with the native implements at hand; but his original impulse had not yet spent itself, the symbolism of his art still had meaning and connection with his life, the style still pulsed with its creative force, and had not yet crystallized into formula, as do all styles eventually. The steel tool enabled him to push his art to a fuller expression. As a result, more elaboration and greater size followed. The domestic lar moved



outside the house, displayed itself, became ostentatious, heraldic—a sign of the distinction and wealth which the new commerce had brought. Perhaps we read too much into this; but some such course of development seems to be the general law throughout the history of the arts.

If any pre-European objects, such as bows, quivers, shields, quill- and wampum-embroidered garments still exist, is it possible that they may be found in Europe, rather than in America? We know that Cartier, Champlain, and others took back with them to France some of the hand-craft products of the new world. The traveller always brings home "curios" and "souvenirs". The explorer, the missionary, the managers and clerks of trading companies, officials, and soldiers returning from foreign service must have carried with them such things, as the British army officer brought home shields and assegais from Zululand, matchlocks from Afghanistan, to decorate his ancestral halls. Perhaps to-day in obscure châteaux in Normandy, in English manor-houses, in homes in the seaports of Brittany and the bay of Biscay, may still hang, unknown and unregarded, some of these aboriginal relics.

An open-air museum for Canada is a necessity. Such institutions as that at Stockholm and elsewhere would make possible the conservation of typical log houses, barns, rail and stone fences, vehicles, the equipment used in such industries as potash-making, weaving, and tanning, in their natural surroundings and with ample space. In the meantime, while awaiting the realization of this ideal, every local museum can do something towards the reconstruction of the domestic life of the past by grouping such articles as they possess in an appropriate way in a fitting interior. Gradually they may thus build up an actual room which will convey the social atmosphere, the *decor*, of the period. It is not yet too late to rescue from oblivion a typical Victorian "drawing-room", crowded with priceless antimacassars, whatnots, chandeliers, and lambrequins. Some still survive in actual use.

The articles in a room thus reconstructed need not be too rigidly circumscribed as to time. This way pedantry lies. The houses of the past themselves contained some family heirlooms, some relics of their householders' earlier days: everything in them was not of the latest fashion. Doubtless alongside the up-to-date furniture of 1790, let us say, occasionally would be found a Jacobean or a Queen Anne chair—literally a grandfather's chair. The essential point is that in titling a museum room the date given



shall be that of the latest article in the collection. Obvious though this precaution may seem, I have seen museum period rooms which included articles or styles which were not likely to have been in use until years after the date with which the room was labelled.

Several museums in the United States have reconstructed early interiors with excellent effect. Especially notable in this respect is the Essex Institute at Salem, Mass., where a seventeenth-century kitchen, and later parlours, bed-rooms, and dining-rooms have been arranged. Various American commercial corporations also have made collections of articles which illustrate the development of their industries. Thus the International Harvester Company has salvaged many of the early reapers; the United Shoe Machinery Corporation has reconstructed the progressive stages of shoe manufacture in a remarkable collection of boots and shoes, tools and machinery, including an authentic early shoe-maker's shop, equipped with all its furnishings.

In Canada, so far as I know, little has been done in this direction as yet. The Royal Ontario Museum has some excellent reconstructions of Indian life, and some interiors which illustrate the development of furniture. The Château de Ramesay, and the fort at Annapolis Royal, N.S., have arranged a few rooms; and here and there and elsewhere a start has been made. But lack of space and limited financial support cramp the efforts of many local societies which already possess sufficient material to make an attractive display in more favourable circumstances. The Hudson's Bay Company has shown a praiseworthy interest in its physical memorials by the creation of its museum in Winnipeg, and to its care we owe the preservation of surviving specimens of the York boat. The Canadian National and the Canadian Pacific Railways have kept a few of the early locomotives; and for the recent centenary of the first railway in Canada a scale model of the first locomotive has been constructed and placed on exhibition. It is to be hoped that other Canadian corporations will follow in this direction by conserving specimens of their equipment and products, characteristic of the various stages of their industries. Tangible objects such as these, or at least photographs and working drawings of them, are indispensable material for the future historian of the "Machine Age".

Perhaps a word might be said regarding the use of modelled and costumed figures in combination with such settings of furniture, *etc.* In my opinion, such figures perhaps better serve their educational and informative purpose when considered merely as

blocks on which to fit the costumes so as to show clearly the cut and hang of the garments, without too near an approach to realism in pose or action; and it is preferable to display them in glass cases. To fit them into their surroundings with easy and natural posture calls for trained artistic skill in modelling and pictorial composition which entails an expense beyond the resources of any but adequately endowed institutions. The results, in the hands of mediocrity, are artistically deplorable. For the small museum perhaps the most practical method would be to use the simplest kind of block figures such as the local clothing store uses for its window displays—if any can be procured without the simpering sub-human physiognomy and the mincing gesture which afflict us in so many of these objects to-day.

One of the most illuminating types of reconstruction is that connected with the preservation of historic places. Whenever the remains of the buildings are not in too ruinous a condition it adds enormously to the value and popular interest of an historic site if it presents in a measure the appearance it bore when occupied and in use. In this again the Americans have shown what can be done by intelligent and sympathetic utilization of the material at hand. A recent instance is the restoration of Fort Niagara, N.Y., which reveals vividly the life of the soldier exiled in this outpost of New France two hundred years ago. Canada has made a beginning in a few places, as at Louisbourg and Annapolis, N.S., and at the old fort in Toronto. But Canadians lack a programme and organization supported by that wide public interest which alone can make possible undertakings of this kind. Meanwhile such relics as the fortifications of Halifax, Quebec, and Kingston are barely saved from decay. It is strange that those to whom the picturesque and historical aspects of the situation have no appeal, the so-called practical business man, the efficient heads of municipalities, do not realize, in their consideration of the development of the tourist trade that such local features are a potential asset, which with some expenditure will become an immediate profitable investment. Municipal authorities and historic enthusiasts alike might very properly pay some attention to the "window-dressing" and "publicity" technique of modern business.

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I have dwelt perhaps over long on our losses, on misinterpretations and errors, on the gaps in our sources of information. But if much has been lost and much remains to be done, much has been salvaged. It would be ungracious and unjust for one who like

myself owes an incalculable debt to the researches and the judgment of so many trained workers to omit a recognition of the value of their services to all who attempt to put into visual form the past life of Canada. The public collections, the Archives at Ottawa, the Royal Ontario Museum, the Quebec Provincial Museum, the New Brunswick Museum, the McCord Museum, the John Ross Robertson and the Manoir Richelieu collections, as well as many smaller local museums, are rich in undeveloped pictorial resources. The introduction in the *Catalogue of pictures in the Public Archives of Canada*, by Dr. James F. Kenney, is a model of its kind, especially valuable for its clear exposition of the technical processes of picture-printing. I know of no better introduction to the study of pictorial sources; condensed though it is, it covers the whole subject from the earliest methods to modern processes with admirable clarity and precision. We do not often meet with such well-informed and penetrating criticism of historical portraiture as Dr. J. Clarence Webster gives us in his *Wolfe and the artists*, his references to the likenesses of Jeffery Amherst, and similar studies. Much valuable information on details too often omitted, or vaguely presented, or scattered through numerous publications is clearly set forth in *The Indians of Canada* by Dr. Diamond Jenness, the lectures of Professor T. F. McIlwraith, and in the various works of Dr. Marius Barbeau. These scholars realize to the full the value of tangible objects, and of a knowledge of the technique of hand-crafts to the student who would understand the life of the past. MM. P.-G. Roy and E.-Z. Massicotte have given the historical artist priceless material in the notarial inventories which they have made public from time to time in the pages of the *Bulletin des recherches historiques* and elsewhere. From these lists it would be possible to furnish completely, from cellar to attic, typical Canadian houses of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Much information, more or less accurate, is to be found in the collections of local historical societies, in the numerous published histories of Quebec parishes, and in the county and district histories throughout Canada. The portraits of pioneer settlers, in particular, have more than a local interest. They give the illustrator data for the types of character, the clothing and the hairdressing, especially of the nineteenth century since the days of the daguerreo-type. Most of these have been borrowed from family albums, and in these once indispensable household ornaments is to be found much useful material. But in the examination of all portraits,

PLATE I



INTERIOR OF HOUSE AT NOOTKA

Part of engraving from drawing by John Webber, R.A., in *Atlas to Cook's Voyage to the Pacific ocean*, ed. 2, 1785.

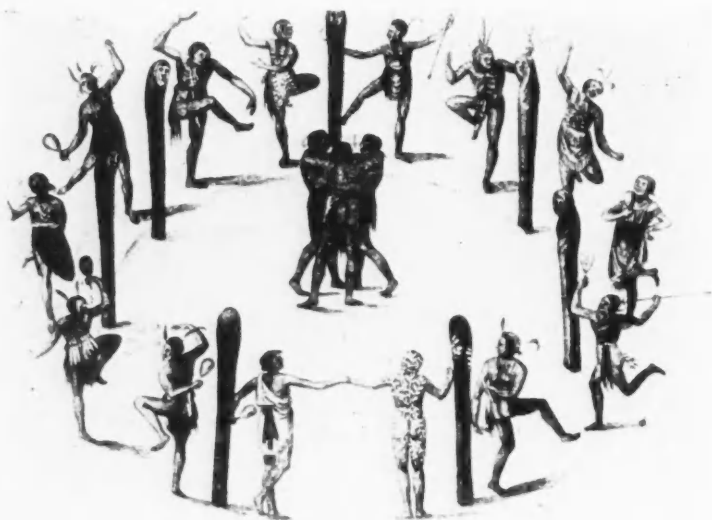
PLATE II



VILLAGE OF NOOTKA

Part of engraving from drawing by John Webber, R.A., in *Atlas to Cook's Voyage to the Pacific ocean*, ed. 2, 1785.

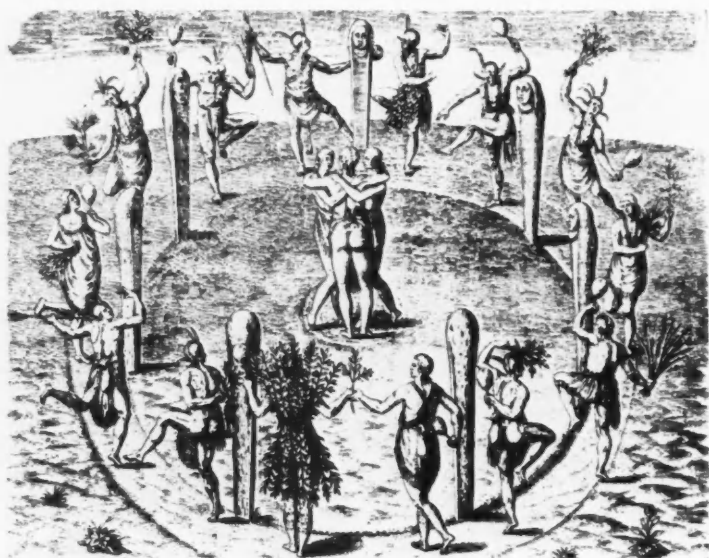
PLATE III



INDIAN DANCE

Original drawing by John White, *circa 1585*, in the British Museum.  
Reproduced in *The pageant of America*, I.

PLATE IV



INDIAN DANCE

Engraving from Theodore de Bry, *Voyages*, part I, 1590

PLATE V



Engraving from John Smith, *Generall historie of Virginia*, 1624.

PLATE VI



BAS RELIEF ON THE FIRST BROCK MONUMENT AT QUEENSTON,  
1826-40

PLATE VII



FIGURE WITH QUIVER

From engraving by  
Theodore de Bry,  
*Voyages*, 1619.



whether of the time of photography or earlier, consideration must be given to the fact that the sitters are generally in their best clothes, and that they are *posing*, more or less stiffly. It is only in recent years that we encounter the surreptitious snap-shot and the motion picture. And it must be remembered that the pioneer of a neighbourhood was not regarded as such until he was well on in years, and consequently in many cases was not photographed until late in life. The settlers were not perhaps all or always so time-worn and weather-beaten as their interesting portraits make them appear to be in the pages of the local histories. The pictorial illustrator must avoid the error of representing the people of a period always in fashionable clothes, the data for which are much more abundant than for work-a-day garb. In the pioneer days of Canada, especially, such fashionable society as existed was likely to be a little behind the mode. The Loyalists, for instance, doubtless, on gala or official occasions, wore such remnants of pre-revolutionary finery as they had saved; but what were their garments in the daily life of the field and the log-hut? Social status, occupation, and environment were modifying factors, and nowhere was this so decidedly the case as in a new country. Thus in New France there must have been a marked contrast between the habitant farmer or the poor seigneur, domiciled for some years on his backwoods domain, and the newly-arrived dandified captain of French regulars or the prim official of the intendant's bureau. La Salle did not wear the same clothes on the Illinois as he did at Versailles. We might as reasonably depict the mining prospector of to-day in northern Canada clad in the "tails" or dinner jacket and "boiled shirt" that he wears when entertaining a financial "prospect" in a New York or London hotel. It is true that the explorer frequently carried with him some articles of more sumptuous apparel with which to impress the Indians; but these were reserved for the arrival at a village or for the council meeting, and were not exposed to the vicissitudes of daily travel. We have but to remember, among numerous instances, the oriental robes which Nicolet carried in expectation of meeting the potentates of Cathay, or the account given by Alexander Mackenzie of how he and his ragged crew mended, cleaned, and shaved themselves before descending to the Bella Coola villages, or the manner in which Sir George Simpson, on his high-speed journeys, approached a Hudson's Bay Company post, dressed in beaver hat, cravat, and frill-bosomed shirt and attended by his piper in Highland garb and his canoe-men gaily bedecked for the occasion.

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Opinions regarding the value of imaginative pictures inevitably will differ; but it may be claimed that they serve a useful, if minor, purpose in arousing popular interest in historical subjects. In any case we shall continue to have them with us, as we shall have historical novels, historical moving pictures, and popular biographies. We must trust that a wider and more precise knowledge of the facts will gradually mould these forms of art into richer shapes of truth and beauty. To-day the sources of information are so much more extensive that we have the right to demand a higher degree of exactitude, of adherence to known fact, than was possible for the illustrator of the past. The foundations of the historical imagination are broader and firmer. For the artist of real creative power and insight, the greater the number of essential facts known, the more clearly he sees their connection and significance, and the more intense generally is his visualization.

In this respect the motion picture of recent years has shown a remarkable improvement. Despite its many banalities, obvious and repellant as they are, it must be admitted that the motion picture to-day presents, especially in its visual features, an authentic and vivid re-creation of the past. Such admirable productions as *Scaramouche*, *The tale of two cities*, *The house of Rothschild*, *Mutiny on the Bounty*, and others, show a meticulous attention to detail, and a general atmosphere which have involved a vast amount of research and real scholarship. The effect of such productions upon the public taste and knowledge is incalculable; and it is encouraging to know that excellence of presentation (or otherwise) is reflected in the box-office receipts. The careless hit-or-miss productions of some years ago, full of anachronisms and false in historic atmosphere, are impossible to-day.

In arousing this popular curiosity and interest, the visual reconstructor of the past, whether painter, illustrator, movie producer, or museum curator, is also indirectly rendering some service to the cause of historical scholarship and research. Public support can be secured only by a wider public interest in the subject. If the popular imagination is touched and stirred, ultimately it will have some effect upon the public purse, with resultant benefit to higher historical studies. The pictorial mouse may help the scholastic lion.

Perhaps, too, the presentation of history in visible, tangible form may have even some direct bearing upon the work of the scholar, in directing his attention to those minor and apparently trivial details of weather, locality, time and place, tools, weapons,

clothes, and the fashions of physical adornment: all matters of prime importance to the illustrator, and not without significance to the student of social life, past or present. The influence of such things upon the course of human events is often much greater than we realize at a first or superficial glance. It has been well said that much more than breeches depends upon buttons. And it is a common experience for the historical worker to come upon a minor fact which acts upon his mind and his imagination as the lifting of a curtain before the window of the past in its revealing suggestiveness.

At its best, and, after all, the work of the historical reconstructor is only an approximation, writer and artist alike may well remember the motto, admirable in its modesty and self-respect, which Jan Van Eyck, the Flemish master of conscientious detail, signed upon his pictures: "Als Ich Kann."

CHARLES W. JEFFERYS

## THE NORTH WEST COMPANY'S COLUMBIAN ENTERPRISE AND DAVID THOMPSON

FOR three score years and more before "the Columbian enterprise" was undertaken, developments on the North-west Coast of America were raising the question as to what gave a nation title to its unoccupied spaces, at least those spaces unoccupied by civilized races. The Spaniards claimed that their discovery of the Pacific ocean gave them the whole of the American Pacific coast. Granted that they might have some title to the territory near Mexico into which their settlements might grow, and in fact did grow, their claim to the coast up to Bering strait stretched the principle of propinquity beyond its endurance. In the actual course of history the Russians discovered the region now known as Alaska, developed a marine, and later a land, fur-trade, and effected trading settlements. This, in the issue, made their title good. As far as I know, the Spaniards made no open protest to this development. This means that title based on discovery, or on a too extensive application of the principle of propinquity, if no trade or occupation followed, had to give place to title by actual commerce and settlement. The Spaniards, alarmed by the expansion of Russian interests, made a number of more or less perfunctory voyages of exploration, unaccompanied by settlement. At two spots the land was proclaimed Spanish in the name of the king of Spain, but, in the issue, this did not stay the progress of the Russian settlements southward.

Then came Captain James Cook's voyage with a sojourn of Englishmen of about two months on Nootka sound, on the south-west coast of Vancouver island. This was followed by the development of an English marine fur-trade, for the most part with Nootka sound for its base. An English sloop, the *North West America*, was actually built and launched on the sound. To stay this development and to make their claims effective, the Spaniards occupied Nootka sound in spite of the English trade which had grown up. The result was a clash with England in the person of Captain James Colnett, come to effect a settlement in continuance of the trade into which his company had entered. Colnett

refused to recognize Spanish sovereignty of the region and asserted the right to settle where he chose in the vacant land with which trade had already been established by English seamen. The details of the clash must be passed over here. The controversy was settled by the Nootka sound convention of 1790, by which either party, and indeed both parties, could enter into trade with, and could build trade settlements on, the coast in question. So far as I am aware, no assertion was made by Britain that such trade and such settlements would give title to the land and establish the sovereignty of the mother country, but it would follow out of the actualities of the case that such sovereignty would ultimately be gained. It was at this point in the course of affairs that the North West Company launched its Columbian enterprise. Its quiet assumption was that, if it captured the trade of the Pacific slope, the region would be drawn within the sovereignty of Britain.

When Duncan M'Gillivray wrote in the winter of 1807-8 of his company's intention to form a "general establishment for the trade of that country on the Columbia river",<sup>1</sup> he had no definite information whether the Fraser river or the upper waters of the Columbia were the Columbia whose estuary was known to the marine fur-traders. He associated the three forts beyond the Rockies (p. 65), which would be the first three built by Simon Fraser, in New Caledonia as it was called, with the enterprise. The Columbian enterprise, then, was not merely the occupation of the present Columbia river, but the penetration beyond the Rockies into the Pacific slope and the entry into the marine fur-trade. It was undertaken with the assumption that, if the trade of the region were secured by a series of posts, the Pacific slope would become British.

The conception of the Columbian enterprise must be credited to Alexander Mackenzie. The aim of his voyages was pre-eminently to find an easy water-way to the Pacific by which goods brought round Cape Horn could be cheaply brought to the Athabaska region, thus eliminating the costly transportation by canoe and over portages all the way across the continent from Montreal. It was thought that the great river flowing out of Great Slave lake might reach the Pacific at the tidal basin which, after Captain Cook's exploration, was called Cook's river, Cook having judged

<sup>1</sup>"Some account of the trade carried on by the North West Company", printed in *Report of the Public Archives of Canada*, 1928, 70. The original is in the library of the Royal Colonial Institute, London.

that the strong current in it indicated the inflow of a great river. Mackenzie was grieved to find that the lordly stream which goes by his name rather entered the polar sea beset by ice. He therefore named it, in a letter to his cousin Roderick Mackenzie, the river Disappointment.<sup>2</sup> He next explored the less promising water-way offered by Peace river, and, after endless difficulties, reached the Pacific at the North Bentinck Arm. In spite of the almost insuperable obstacles encountered, his fertile imagination gave birth to the Columbian enterprise. The scheme embodied his ambition to relieve the fur-trade of Athabaska from the incubus of the cost of transportation from Montreal. Goods were to be brought in by the short and cheap route through Hudson strait and bay; all the English fur-traders were to be gathered into one great company with chartered rights; depots on the coast were to be supplied by ships passing round Cape Horn; and Britain was to enter the Pacific slope by way of Hudson strait, to exploit the fur resources of the Pacific, and to claim the land for her own.<sup>3</sup> It is impossible here to trace the influence of this dream on Mackenzie's career. It is enough to say that it is the key to his subsequent doings.

Alexander Mackenzie was at Grand Portage in July, 1794, on his way to Montreal after his voyage to the Pacific. Whatever Simon McTavish, agent of the company, may have thought of his achievement, obviously there would be much discussion, among the partners and the clerks, of his experiences and of the bearing of his journey on the policy of the company. It may be assumed that his ideas at Grand Portage would be essentially those which he gave to Governor Simcoe, whom he saw a few weeks later in Upper Canada on his way by the Lake Simcoe route to the St. Lawrence and Montreal. Simcoe reported them to the lords of trade and plantations in part as follows:

The Traffic which may be carried on by this rout [*sic*], will undoubtedly strike your Lordships as a matter of great importance, but it appears from the observations of Mr. McKenzie, who seems to be as intelligent as he is adventurous, That to carry on this Commerce to National Advantages, the priviledges & rivalry, the claims & monopoly of great commercial Companies must be reconciled & blended in one common Interest. His Observations on this head which particularly attracted my attention were that the most

<sup>2</sup>L. F. R. Masson, *Les bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest* (Montreal, 1889-90), 1, 36: Reminiscences of Roderic McKenzie.

<sup>3</sup>Sir Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal . . . through the continent of North America* (London, 1801), 407-12.

practicable Rout to the Northwest was thro' the territories of the Hudsons Bay Company, that by this rout from Great Britain all the Navigation from Montreal thro' the Chain of Lakes & their immense Communication & its consequent Carriage, would be saved, but that on the other hand the people of Canada, being infinitely more capable of the hardships of the Indian life, & all the vicissitudes & dangers incident to the Trade, than Europeans, from thence, must draw those supplies of men without which It would not be possible to pursue the Commerce.

The Northwest Traders would find it their Interest to collect all the most valuable of the Furs, now brought from the Interior parts of America, & to pass them down the streams which fall into the Pacific Ocean—& this Mr. McKenzie says they could do with much less Expence & difficulty than bringing them thro' the St. Lawrence.

In respect to the Valuable Furs on the Coast of the Pacific Ocean, His ideas are that a Post at Cooke's River & another at the Southerly limit of the British Claims would probably secure the whole Traffic, & as this cannot be done in any other manner than by conciliating the affections of the natives, it is natural to suppose that the habits of a people long accustomed to the manners & disposition of the Indians, will be found to be of the greatest consequence to promote so desirable a purpose; the Crews of Trading Vessels seem by no means fit for this traffic & the Russians have severely felt their ignorance of its Customs.<sup>4</sup>

Here is the Columbian enterprise in all its ramifications, the union of all the fur-trading interests in one grand concern, the use of the Hudson strait route, the entry into the trade of the Pacific slope including the marine fur-trade; a depot or depots on the Pacific coast, to which the goods would be brought by ship round Cape Horn; and finally a fur-trade with China. The scheme aimed at a complete reorganization of the business machine of the North West Company. In particular, it envisaged the partial abandonment of Montreal as the headquarters of the continental trade, in favour of a depot on Hudson bay supplied cheaply and swiftly by ship from London through Hudson strait. In the course of the years this far-reaching policy received considerable backing from the wintering partners of the company assembled at Grand Portage, and, of course, it came to its own in the union of the North West and the Hudson's Bay Companies in 1821. In the meantime it met with determined hostility on the part of Simon McTavish and the principal agents of the company, whose interests were identified with Montreal. Hence the course of events which pushed Alexander Mackenzie out of

<sup>4</sup>Public Archives of Canada, *Series Q*, vol. 280-2, p. 359; printed in *The correspondence of Lieut.-Gov. John Graves Simcoe, with allied documents*, ed. by E. A. Cruikshank (Toronto, Ontario Historical Society, 1923-31), III, 68 ff.



the North West Company. Yet the policy sketched was so full of promise for the trade of the most westerly posts of the company that it held the imagination of the wintering partners long after Mackenzie's influence was removed. Indeed, the spirit of the great exploring fur-trader descended on no less a personage than Duncan M'Gillivray, the nephew of Simon McTavish, at first a clerk, then wintering partner in the department of the Forts des Prairies (that is, of the Saskatchewan, like Mackenzie's department of Athabaska on the western frontier and facing the Rockies and the Pacific slope), and finally agent of the company.

Duncan M'Gillivray, in the humble capacity of clerk, was with the Saskatchewan brigade at Grand Portage when Mackenzie was there on his return from his voyage to the Pacific ocean. It is not a great assumption to take it that he became aware of his Columbian enterprise as sketched. It is in order now to trace, in his writings and in his actions, the hold which the policy took upon him. M'Gillivray's *Journal*<sup>5</sup> is of the trading season 1794-5, that immediately succeeding Mackenzie's return. Of course, it deals with the journey to Fort George on the North Saskatchewan, north of the present Vermilion, Alberta, and the happenings at the post. Across a creek west of Fort George stood the Hudson's Bay Company's Buckingham House in sharp rivalry with it. Everything goes to show that, though the English company secured fewer furs than the Northwesters, they were doing a successful business. The secret of this lay in their cheap transportation through Hudson strait; in their advantage in receiving a return for the goods placed in the trade a year sooner than was possible for their rivals, which meant the saving of a year's interest on the capital expended in goods, and in the small number of men with which their posts were manned, due to their just handling of the Indians and the security they felt in their friendship. However, both companies had received a rude shock in the previous summer at the hands of the Fall Indians who had attacked Pine Island Fort and Manchester House, north of the present Paynton, Saskatchewan, and the forts of the south branch at Gardepuy's crossing. The North West Company's posts with their larger garrisons had succeeded in driving off the attackers, but the English posts had fallen a prey to the plunderers. Discussing this situation in his *Journal* of March 8, 1795, Duncan M'Gillivray wrote:

<sup>5</sup>Ed. by Arthur S. Morton (Toronto, 1929).

This disadvantage [of being exposed to the attacks of the natives] will not be easily surmounted by the H.B. Company, who, having some trouble in procuring a sufficient number of men for the purpose of navigation, will find it very difficult to increase that number so considerably as to afford men enough for defending the Fort During the absence of the Canoes,—Methinks that this consideration alone might have some influence with the Hudsons Bay Company to induce them to adopt some agreement with the North West Co. who are so well supplied in this respect, that last year Mr. Shaw [the head of the department] left 24 Men inland without diminishing the usual number p Canoe, and I imagine that the latter would not be averse to some kind of union from a conviction of its general utility to both parties; indeed the mutual advantages that would arise from it, are so evident that they will naturally occur to every person who has any knowledge of this Country; it would therefore be superfluous to point them out to you, who are so well acquainted with all the Branches of the Fur Trade.

At this early date M'Gillivray is looking on a union of the two companies, which was an integral part of Mackenzie's Columbian enterprise, with a friendly eye. The "mutual advantages" to which he refers must surely include the use of the Hudson Bay route by the trade of the Saskatchewan which would eliminate the costly transportation across the continent from Montreal.

The course of the fur-trade on the Saskatchewan was from one beaver region ruined to the next beaver region to the west unexploited. In 1795 the first Fort Augustus and the Hudson's Bay Company's first Edmonton House, a mile and a half above the Sturgeon river, Alberta, were established, and in 1799 the North West Company's Rocky Mountain House and the English company's Acton House, above the confluence of the Clearwater river and within full view of the Rockies. Duncan M'Gillivray, when at Rocky Mountain House, would be face to face with the same problems which Mackenzie envisaged in Athabaska: the great cost of transportation from Montreal, and the possibility of finding a short and commercially advantageous route to a depot on the Pacific served by ships coming round Cape Horn. We may assume that the young man's imagination would be fired by the possibility of inaugurating a new era in the history of his company, and the glory that would be his if he succeeded in extending the trade of the concern to the Pacific coast. By 1799 Duncan had become a wintering partner in the company. In the autumn of 1800 he passed up the Saskatchewan and arrived at Rocky Mountain House where David Thompson was placed for that season. Thompson says: "Mr. Duncan

McGillivray came and wintered also, to prepare to cross the mountains."<sup>6</sup> Manifestly Duncan had the approval of the agents in Montreal, and David Thompson, the "astronomer" and surveyor of the company, was there to accompany him and map the region explored. At this point David Thompson's connection with the Columbian enterprise begins.

Various steps were taken preparatory to crossing the Rocky Mountains. First of all, there were two explorations that autumn towards the passes of the mountains. Of one we can be absolutely certain. On November 17, M'Gillivray, along with Thompson, set out on horseback, visited a Piegan camp about where Calgary now stands, and then, as Mr. J. B. Tyrrell traces their course,<sup>7</sup> ascended the valley of the Bow river to the neighbourhood of the present Exshaw, Alberta. Exshaw is about twenty miles as the crow flies east of Banff, and, what is of importance from our point of view, about the same distance from White Man's pass to the south, offering a comparatively easy course over the mountains to our Cross river, one of the sources of the Kootenay river. Without giving its date, Thompson has recorded a journey made by M'Gillivray towards Athabaska pass. As Mr. Tyrrell has worked it out,<sup>8</sup> he penetrated beyond Brazeau lake and river over the watershed of the North Saskatchewan to a stream flowing into the Athabaska river. He must have been somewhat north of the latitude of the pass, though to get to it, he would have had to descend to the Athabaska and to ascend that stream to the source of its tributary, the Whirlpool river. Though undated, this journey can safely be ascribed to this autumn. It probably preceded the journey begun on November 17. A preparation of a different order was in the form of extracts which Duncan made from Vancouver's *Voyage of discovery to the North Pacific ocean*. Unfortunately, when the time came for the expedition to start in the following spring (1801), M'Gillivray was ill, not too ill to supervise the equipment of the party, but too unwell to take charge of it. The journal of the expedition, kept by David Thompson, who was in command, is now in the Vancouver Public Library, and contains the extracts made from Vancouver's *Voyage* and the course of the party. It followed the North Saskatchewan upward for some twenty-eight miles, and ascended the present Sheep creek, but the stream was in flood up to the precipitous

<sup>6</sup>J. B. Tyrrell (ed.), *David Thompson's narrative of his explorations in western America, 1784-1812* (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1916), lxxx.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, lxxx.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, lxxxi.

banks, to the extent that tracking was impossible. Thompson returned to Rocky Mountain House on June 30, defeated by the difficulties of the route.

There was ample time thereafter for M'Gillivray, if he were well enough, to make a second attempt during that season. That he did so is proved by letters, copies of which exist in the Public Archives of Canada. On October 25, 1802, Sir Alexander Mackenzie wrote from Montreal to John Sullivan, under-secretary at the colonial office, in part as follows:

I had the honour of remarking to my Lord Hobart [secretary for war and the colonies] that an attempt had been made by one of the partners in the old Fur Company to penetrate in a more southerly direction than I did to the River Columbia in which he failed through ill health, a second attempt has been made by another partner of the same concern with no better success owing to a mutiny of the men employed, arising, as I judge, from the want of an appropriate Talent for such an undertaking in the leader. I have been credibly informed that the Astronomer, who went upon both expeditions, declares positively that the object is not impracticable.<sup>9</sup>

From this we gather that there was a second expedition led by a different officer, presumably M'Gillivray; that he was accompanied by the company's astronomer, namely, Thompson; and that it went far enough for Thompson to declare positively that the plan of the enterprise was practicable.

Mackenzie, being in opposition, would naturally get his information indirectly, and possibly none too accurately. More definite information comes from a letter written by Sir Robert Milnes, lieutenant-governor of Lower Canada, to Sullivan, and dated Montreal, September 9, 1803, introducing a Mr. M'Gillivray. As Duncan M'Gillivray was in London in the summer of 1804 opening negotiations with the Hudson's Bay Company for an arrangement by which the North West Company might have the use of the Hudson strait route, there is some likelihood that this is Duncan himself.

Mr. McGillivray, a Member of the first [the North West] Company, being now on his way to England, I shall take the liberty of recommending him to your notice, and from him you may obtain the fullest information relative to the important Branch of Trade carried on by them; he will also have the honor to lay before you a complete Chart of the Indian Country which has been explored by them in following up the spirited Enterprise that was undertaken a

<sup>9</sup>Q, vol. 293, p. 225; printed in *Report of the Public Archives of Canada*, 1892, 150.

few years since by Sir Alexander McKenzie, who formerly belonged to the Company.<sup>10</sup>

From these two documents we gather the following definite information. There was a second expedition, one after that of David Thompson; it was led by a partner of the company other than David Thompson (that would be Duncan M'Gillivray); and Thompson, as astronomer, took part in both expeditions. David Thompson, therefore, first crossed the Rockies on the Columbian enterprise in 1801, and not in 1807, as has been hitherto believed. Moreover, we gather that the region covered "in following up the spirited enterprise" of Alexander Mackenzie was south of his own course (namely in the valley of the Columbia); that it was a partial failure; but that sufficient ground was covered to allow of Thompson declaring positively that the way to the Pacific was practicable; and it was sufficiently great and important to be worth laying before the colonial office in the form of a chart of the country.

As to the area covered—failing a detailed report of M'Gillivray's expedition, we are forced to gather inferences from David Thompson's maps and from the geographical names which prevailed subsequently. I am inclined to believe that the party passed on horseback, as it did the previous autumn, through the neighbourhood of Exshaw. The name White Man's pass seems to imply that it was the pass by which the first European entered the land of the Indians west of the mountains. Thompson's map of north-western America<sup>11</sup> calls the Rockies here "Duncan's Mountains". The pass ultimately leads to our Cross river, the upper affluent of the Kootenay river which comes from the east. Thompson's map shows this river but gives no indication of the Vermilion river, which flows from the north, the other affluent which goes to the formation of the Kootenay, thus testifying that the Kootenay was reached by Cross river. To this evidence must be added the fact that at no other time was Thompson here; how then could he have drawn his map with such particularity? That Duncan was on the Kootenay is testified by its being known as M'Gillivray's river, and it so figures on Thompson's and Arrow-smith's maps and in sundry journals. As it was the practice to call rivers, for example, the Mackenzie, the Fraser, and the Finlay,

<sup>10</sup>*Q*, vol. 92, p. 283.

<sup>11</sup>The map is in the Ontario Archives. Reproductions are in J. B. Tyrrell's *David Thompson's narrative* and in *New light on the early history of the greater north-west: The manuscript journals of Alexander Henry and David Thompson*, ed. by Elliott Coues (New York, 1897).

not in honour of men, but after their explorers, it can be taken that M'Gillivray was the discoverer of this stream. The distance downstream explored by Duncan may be inferred as being Kootenay lake, for the lake figures on Thompson's large-scale map of the Oregon, which is in the British Museum,<sup>12</sup> as "M'Gillivray's Lake". Add to this that, when Thompson entered the country in 1807 under M'Gillivray's instructions, he was to penetrate to the Flat Bow country south of Kootenay lake, to build a post there, and, as a passage of his journal quoted below shows, to pass on to a great river beyond (the Columbia) and to judge by its flow whether it really was the stream known by that name at the coast. This is further borne out by the familiarity, shown in that passage, of David Thompson with the Flat Bow Indians, who are not known to have had contact with the traders east of the Rockies, though the Kootenays had.

Assuming that this was the course followed in entering the Pacific slope, the return journey would be up the Kootenay to the point at which it approaches the Upper Columbian lake, the source of the Columbia. That M'Gillivray crossed the portage of a mile and a half from the Kootenay to the lake is evidenced by its bearing in Thompson's *Narrative* (p. 430) the name "M'Gillivray's Carrying Place". The presence of Duncan at the height of land of Athabaska pass is testified to by a remarkable pyramidal mountain there passing afterwards as "M'Gillivray's Rock".<sup>13</sup> True, several traders attribute the name to William M'Gillivray, but this was long after Duncan's death, and when he must have been forgotten. Further evidence contributory to the view that M'Gillivray and Thompson crossed this pass in 1801 is found in the fact that when the Piegans, as will be seen, denied to Thompson in 1810 the passage to the Columbia by Howes pass at the source of the North Saskatchewan, he changed his plans and crossed by the Athabaska pass. He must have had personal knowledge that the route was feasible.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup>Additional MSS. 27363.

<sup>13</sup>The first mention of the rock is in 1814: "Mr. J. Henry who first discovered the pass, gave this extraordinary rock the name of one of the partners of the N.W. Company" (J. V. Huntington's translation of Gabriel Franchère's *Narrative*, New York, 1863, 291). Ross Cox camped beneath the peak two years later, but his book (*The Columbia river*) was not written till towards 1832, after even William M'Gillivray had died (1824), sixteen years after Duncan's death. It runs: "This is called M'Gillivray's Rock, in honour of the late Mr. Wm. M'Gillivray, a principal director of the Company" (II, 166). This ascription became traditional, though why is unexplainable, for William was never in these parts.

<sup>14</sup>Alexander Henry's statement concerning Thompson: "His canoes having been stopped by Piegans induced him to alter his road from the North Branch [the Brazeau]

If this interpretation of the itinerary of M'Gillivray and Thompson when they crossed the Rockies in 1801 be correct (and in view of the letters of Alexander Mackenzie and Lieutenant-Governor Milnes, there can be no doubt about their crossing), then the historic sites and monuments board is in error in its monument at Jasper park in attributing the honour of first crossing Athabaska pass to David Thompson, and in putting the date at 1810.

In 1802 Duncan M'Gillivray left the interior to join the firm of McTavish, Frobisher, and Co., soon to become McTavish, M'Gillivrays, & Co. He now became one of the agents of the North West Company travelling from Montreal to meet with the wintering partners at the rendezvous on Lake Superior. Kaminitikwia, later called Fort William after Duncan's brother, also agent, was taking the place of Grand Portage at this juncture. He signed a document at "Kaminitiquia" on July 6, 1803,<sup>15</sup> but was not present in 1804. That he was still prosecuting the Columbian enterprise, though not in the way of continuing his explorations, is evidenced by his actions in 1803 and subsequently. The feature of the enterprise to which he was now addressing himself was the Hudson bay route, the use of which the North-westerners must acquire to make trade across the Rockies pay. The plan was to secure a right of way through the bay and permission from the Hudson's Bay Company to establish a depot, not for trade, but for the transit of goods to the interior. In the summer of 1803 the North West Company sent an expedition through Hudson strait into James bay. The object would be to become familiar with the route and to frighten the Hudson's Bay Company into terms favourable to the Northwesterners. A depot was established on Charlton island and a post at the mouth of Moose river in opposition to Moose Fort of the Hudson's Bay Company. Another post was placed over against Rupert Fort. In August, 1804, when the English company would be about to get news of this expedition, Duncan M'Gillivray, then in London, approached the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company with a view to coming to some agreement of advantage to both parties.

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by Buffalo Dung lake to Athabaska river, and thence across the mountains to the Columbia—a route by which a party of Nepisangués [Nipissing Indians] and freemen passed a few years ago" (Coues, ed., *Henry-Thompson journals*, II, 653), does not necessarily preclude a previous crossing by M'Gillivray's party.

<sup>15</sup>Minutes of the North West Company, photostat copy in the Public Archives of Canada, p. 4; printed in *Documents relating to the North West Company*, ed. by W. S. Wallace (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1934).



The discussions came off in the first months of 1805.<sup>16</sup> M'Gillivray offered to withdraw from the bay, if the Hudson's Bay Company would grant the North West Company a free transit for their trade through Hudson strait and the use of a depot on the bay, it being understood that the Northwesters would not engage in trade but simply pass their goods through to the interior. The governor and committee replied that there was nothing substantial in such an offer, for by the charter the trade of the bay was exclusively theirs, that M'Gillivray was doing no more than offering them what was theirs by law in return for the right of passage through the bay. To be able to give an answer to this—to make some substantial offer, in fact—Duncan crossed the Atlantic and met with the wintering partners at Kaministiquia with the proposition that their company should offer the English company two thousand pounds a year for a number of years to be agreed upon, as the "sufficient indemnity and security" required.<sup>17</sup> Armed with their approval M'Gillivray returned to London, but the governor and committee refused to accept the offer on the ground that it might impair their rights under the charter in the more distant future.

It does not appear just where M'Gillivray intended to place the depot, whether on the Churchill or the Nelson or the Hayes.<sup>18</sup> It is entirely probable that the order to Thompson to winter far down the Churchill in 1804-5 was with the object of getting definite information as to the possibilities of that water-way in case the Churchill river were chosen for the depot. Thompson seems to have gone as far down as South Indian lake.<sup>19</sup> His report would in the nature of things be adverse to that route. In the winter of 1805-6, that is the following trading season, William McKay was wintering partner in the department of Lake Winnipeg. In the spring of 1806, doubtless acting under orders, he surveyed the Nelson down to its mouth. At that point his journal<sup>20</sup> comes to an abrupt end, but it seems natural in the circumstances to assume that he returned by the alternative route

<sup>16</sup>The documents emanating from this episode are kept in a separate folder in the Hudson's Bay Company's Archives.

<sup>17</sup>Minutes of the North West Company, 35; Wallace (ed.), *Documents relating to the North West Company*, 203.

<sup>18</sup>In the summer of 1804 both James Bird and Peter Fidler reported to J. McNab, chief factor at York Fort, that "the proprietors of the N.W. Co. they have conversed with are in the hopes of a Ship's arrival at C.R. [Churchill river] or York for forwarding their inland supplies and fixing [a] Station on the Coast of Hudsons Bay" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, York Fort, Inland correspondence, B239b, 69, 1803-4, p. 65).

<sup>19</sup>Tyrrell (ed.), *David Thompson's narrative*, lxxxv.

<sup>20</sup>This is the anonymous "Journal for 1805 and 6—Cross lake" of the Masson papers in the Public Archives of Canada.

offered by the Hayes. The refusal of the Hudson's Bay Company to come to terms left it unnecessary to make any decision about the route to be taken from the proposed depot on the bay.

It may be in place here to refer to the statement often made that the North West Company's trans-Rocky enterprise was an attempt to forestall the American expedition of Lewis and Clark. This expedition was first publicly mooted on January 3, 1803, in response to a private message from President Jefferson to congress. In the summer of 1801 M'Gillivray was on the Kootenay river and lake intending to proceed to the coast, if that were possible. Had his attention thereafter not been diverted to the question of the use of the route by Hudson strait, an integral part of the Columbian enterprise, and had he rather prosecuted the exploration of the route to the coast, it would have been perfectly evident that the contrary was true, that the Lewis and Clark expedition was intended to protect American rights against the North West Company's Columbian enterprise. Lewis and Clark crossed the Rockies in 1805 and spent the winter of 1805-6 at the mouth of the Columbia. On the return of the expedition the valley of the Columbia remained unoccupied, for I have found nothing to corroborate the Indian report to Thompson that the Americans were on the lower Columbia establishing a military post in 1807.

The above does not exclude the possibility that the Lewis and Clark expedition may have some influence in leading M'Gillivray to go on with the trans-Rocky aspect of his enterprise whether he secured the use of the Hudson bay route or not. Certainly, the orders to Fraser to push forward on the Peace river front left Kaminstikwia in the summer of 1805 when the Americans were well on their way towards the Columbia, and while the negotiations for the right of transit for goods through Hudson strait were not yet concluded. The instructions to advance on the Saskatchewan front must have been given at the same time, for in the following summer Jaco Finlay, a half-breed employee at Rocky Mountain House was cutting a trail across Howes pass and building canoes on the Columbia for the use of David Thompson in the following year.

On the Peace river front the advance was immediate and swift. In the late autumn of 1805 an outpost was established beyond the Rockies on McLeod lake. In 1806 Simon Fraser penetrated deep into the country and built posts on Stuart lake and Fraser lake.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup>These are the three forts referred to in M'Gillivray's "Some account of the trade carried on by the North West Company". He says that their trade was being carried on through Montreal at a loss.

Early in 1807 a fourth post was established, Fort George on the Fraser river. That summer Simon Fraser, instead of going out with his furs, devoted himself to penetrating to the coast. On May 28, he left Fort George to explore the river. On July 1, he was within the tidal waters of the Pacific. It is no part of this paper to dwell on his experiences, but it should be said that the river proved to be other than the Columbia, and that it was absolutely impossible as a trade route. What needs emphasis is the manner of the advance on this front. Within little more than a year four forts were built, and within two years the Pacific coast was reached and the possibilities of the region for the trade were ascertained. Here was a model execution of the Columbian enterprise. We proceed now to appraise the conduct of the advance on the Saskatchewan front by the standard set by Simon Fraser, and to ask the question whether David Thompson lacked the perception of the significance of his company's policy, and the enterprise and push characteristic, not only of Simon Fraser, but of the North West Company at large, and whether it was due to his mistaken leisureliness and to his misjudgments that the Americans installed themselves at the mouth of the Columbia before the North West Company.

A factor of no slight importance was that from Rocky Mountain House to Howes pass at the source of the North Saskatchewan Thompson would have to go through Piegan country; and that the great Piegan tribe, which, armed with guns at the traders' post, preyed constantly on the unarmed tribes beyond the mountains, would be hostile to any traders who might go into the Pacific slope and arm their victims. Thompson was aware of this from the beginning. He says: "the murder of two Peagan Indians by Captain Lewis of the United States, drew the Peagans to the Mississouri to revenge their deaths; and thus gave me an opportunity to cross the Mountains."<sup>22</sup> From his journal we know that his instructions must have run that he was to build a post on the Kootenay river in the Flat Bow country south of Kootenay lake, but he did not manage to penetrate as far as that. The track cut by Jaco Finlay across the pass was too narrow for pack-horses and time was lost getting through to the Columbia. The canoes built by Finlay at the end of the traverse were not fit for use, and more time was lost building a large substitute. Thompson now ascended the Columbia towards Kootenay river. Because he was straitened for provisions, all the more because he had brought his

<sup>22</sup>Tyrrell (ed.), *David Thompson's narrative*, 375.

wife and his three children with him, he did not push on to the Kootenay river as directed but built what he called Kootenay House, about a mile below Lake Windermere, the lower of the two lakes from which the Columbia flows. In the circumstances we cannot very well sit in judgment on him. The fact remains, however, that he was within twenty-five miles of M'Gillivray's portage, two-thirds of the route being through the still water of the lakes; a mile and a half across the portage would have brought him to the Kootenay river down which he would have run easily in a land of increasing plenty. He was conscious that he was diverging from the main object of his enterprise, for his journal runs: "What a fine opportunity was here lost of going to the Flat Bow [Kootenay] Country from the embarrassed Situation of my Affairs."

Thompson's action in not pressing on would have been more excusable had he been unfamiliar with the country, but there is much in his journal to indicate that he was familiar with the scene and the people.

I engaged . . . a steady man to set off [and] inform the Flat Bows of our arrival with order to the Chief of that tribe, whom I had formerly seen [and] given a Ring to come with all Diligence, as I wished him to pilot me thro his Lands, that I might also make an establishment for Trade in his Country. The Kootenae told me my messages would be highly agreeable to all parties [and] promised to set out the very next Morning on their respective Commissions, assuring me that I might expect to see them again in about 10 or 12 Nights hence. What a fine Opportunity was here lost of going to the Flat Bow Country from the embarrassed Situation of my Affairs; on the one hand the Property was without Shelter [and] the Men famishing, without knowledge from whence to get any Sustenance—on the other hand a large Band of Indians, part of whom had never seen white People was expected in a few Days [and] perhaps a few Peagans with them—amidst much anxiety, nothing would soothe my Mind, but the expectation of the speedy arrival of the Flat Bows, when I hoped still to have Time enough between my Departure [and] the 15th Sept. (the day when the People must go off for the Goods from Kam [Kaministikwia]) to explore at least the Flat Bow Country [and] by the course of the large River determine whether it is the Columbia or not.<sup>23</sup>

The journal goes on to give a clear description of the two Columbian lakes, though on this trip Thompson had as yet seen no more than the outlet of the lower one. Evidently, he was in

<sup>23</sup>David Thompson's journal of 1807, as printed in the *Oregon Historical Society quarterly*, XXVI, 1925, 37-8.

familiar country, knew of the Columbia beyond the Flat Bow country, and had to do formerly with a Flat Bow chief, and finally, he was disappointed that he had not been able to go on to build among the Flat Bows.

No sooner was the post on the Columbia built than Thompson was reminded of a most important factor bearing on the Columbian enterprise, namely, the certainty of the hostility of the Piegans, through whose country he must pass, to an enterprise which promised to arm the tribes beyond the Rockies on whom they preyed. The post stood something like a siege at the hands of a band of Piegans, and a second band had to be bought off by liberal gifts.

In the spring of the following year (1808), before taking his furs out, Thompson made a flying trip down M'Gillivray's river and beyond the Kootenay falls, but returned to his post to take its furs out. In this he is in marked contrast with Simon Fraser who devoted his second summer to penetrating to the Pacific coast. Indians had reported to Thompson that he could go to the mouth of the Columbia and be back in a "summer's moon";<sup>24</sup> and there was the question of reducing the cost of transportation to and from Montreal by establishing a post by the sea. Thompson ignored the advantage of pressing on, in the interest of taking his furs out in safety.

On his return from delivering his furs and receiving fresh goods at Rainy lake, David Thompson sent his subordinate Finan McDonald to establish a post at the Kootenay falls. But here again he diverged from the original plan. The post on the Kootenay river was intended to be the first post and therefore the base from which the Columbian enterprise was to be pushed. Thompson made it no more than an outpost, keeping the post on the Columbia as the principal fort. In 1809, he did not go all the way to Rainy lake but returned early from Fort Augustus on the North Saskatchewan, for an advance towards the coast. He reached a point near the present Bonner's Ferry, Idaho, on the Kootenay river about twenty miles south of the lake. He was now at the parting of the ways. Should he cross the lake and follow the Kootenay from it down its course of little more than twenty-five miles to the Columbia, as he contemplated in 1807, or should he go overland some fifty miles by pack-horse to Pend Oreille lake, where a group of Indians promised a good trade, and take his chances of reaching the Columbia by the river flowing out of the

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, 47.

lake, the Pend Oreille river, now known as Clark's Fork? In judging Thompson's decision to take the latter course, we must bear in mind the goal of the Columbian enterprise, a depot at the coast supplied by ship from England, which should put the trade of the Pacific on a paying basis, and therefore must be established as soon as possible. Manifestly, the establishment of the depot must be as soon as may be, in the interest of the trade itself quite apart from exploration. That this was the view of the enterprise taken at its very inception is testified to by a letter written by James Bird from the Hudson's Bay Company's Edmonton House over against the North West Company's Fort Augustus on December 23, 1806. Its information would be based on word received at the latter post. "Mr. David Thompson is making preparations for another attempt to cross the Mountains, pass through [the Kutenai country] and follow the Columbia River to the sea."<sup>25</sup> There can be little doubt that if Thompson had followed the course indicated and passed down the Kootenay river to the Columbia, he would have found an easy and a speedy course to the coast by the latter magnificent stream.

Why Thompson turned away from the Kootenay lake and river can only be conjectured. The twenty-five mile course of the river is difficult and was never used by the trade, the pack-horse route taken by him being always preferred, but it was followed by Palliser in 1859 and is described in his journal:

September 3rd—Again on the Kootanie River [that is, after passing through the lake]; made two severe portages across the rocks, one of which was about two miles long; halted for a dinner of berries; . . . After dinner made a short portage, and made a few miles down the river; commenced a long portage; made half of it, something under two miles; camped in the wood. . . .

September 4th.—Finished our portage, reloaded canoe, and travelled steadily; met Indians returning from Columbia River; had a fine feast of salmon, for which I exchanged a shirt for two salmon, one four feet, the other four feet four inches long. Made a long day, and camped not far from the entrance of the Columbia. Started before sunrise and soon turned into the Columbia River.<sup>26</sup>

Beyond some six miles of portaging, there were no difficulties worth mentioning. Indians eager to have Thompson build a post among them at Pend Oreille lake may have exaggerated the difficulties of the Kootenay, but it seems safe to say that men of the stamp of

<sup>25</sup>Quoted by permission of the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company.

<sup>26</sup>*Journals, reports, etc., of the Palliser expedition, 1857-1861* (London, 1863), 160.

Alexander Mackenzie and Simon Fraser, bent on reaching the coast, would have taken the shortest way and left the question of the best route for later use to be settled when the country was better known. It was an error of judgment on the part of Thompson to do otherwise. Once more he abandoned the goal of his enterprise for the immediate advantage of the moment.

Thompson, then, turned away from the shortest route to the Columbia, travelled by horse to Pend Oreille lake and there built what he called Kullyspell House. He was not, however, oblivious of the necessity of reaching out to the Columbia river. He immediately tested the possibility of the stream flowing through the lake, only to find that it was absolutely impossible to reach the Columbia that way. In the late autumn he was far up the river in Montana, and there built what he called Saleesh House at the present Thompson's Prairie. Still conscious that he must press on to the Columbia river, he made another attempt to reach that stream by descending Clark's Fork from Pend Oreille lake, but with no better results.

Not only was Thompson guilty of misjudgment in the matter of his route to the coast. He made a great mistake in establishing posts among the enemies of the Piegiens. Naturally, they welcomed him and bought his guns and ammunition. Thompson even drilled them. The sequel was that when they next met the Piegiens in battle, they inflicted a severe and bloody defeat on them. Worse still, some of Thompson's men were with them, and had perforce to fight with and for them. This led to a bitter determination on the part of the Piegiens not to allow Thompson to pass with his guns and ammunition through their country—a determination fraught with sad results to the Columbian enterprise in the following year.

That Thompson was sacrificing himself for the Columbian enterprise is so far evident, that he was entitled by rotation to spend a year in Canada in 1808.<sup>27</sup> He did not avail himself of his right till 1810. That spring, according to Alexander Henry the younger's journal of June 28, kept at White Earth House on the North Saskatchewan, "Mr. Thompson embarked with his family for Montreal in a light canoe with five men and a Saulteur".<sup>28</sup> This is sure evidence that up to this time Thompson personally was not conscious of any necessity to reach the coast and to

<sup>27</sup>Minutes of the North West Company, 43; Wallace (ed.), *Documents relating to the North West Company*, 259.

<sup>28</sup>Coues (ed.), *Henry-Thompson journals*, 608.



establish a fort there before the arrival of an American expedition, and thereby to pre-empt the land for Great Britain and the North West Company. The need for pressing on did not lie in the Americans but in the Columbian enterprise as a business scheme. But when Thompson reached the depot at Rainy lake, he was sent back posthaste to reach the mouth of the Columbia and to build a fort and raise the Union Jack on the breezes of the Oregon, before Jacob Astor's expedition should arrive. It has been assumed by some, on the evidence, or strictly the lack of evidence, in Thompson's journals, that even now there was no race between the British and the Americans to occupy the mouth of the Columbia. But it was not safe to rely on the evidence of the man himself, all the more as there is a strange, perhaps a determined, silence in his journals at this point. The whole situation is put in the clear light of day by the correspondence of the agents and supporters of the North West Company with the British ambassador in Washington, Mr. Jackson, and with the government in London, the pertinent parts of which are printed below (pp. 304-11). A memorandum, dated September 30, 1809, called the attention of Jackson to the intention of the Americans to make establishments for trade in the country beyond the Rockies and in particular on the Columbia; this in spite of the discoveries of Cook, Vancouver, and Mackenzie. "No establishment on the coast of the Pacific should therefore be sanctioned." On January 23, 1810, McTavish, McGillivrays and Co., agents in Montreal for the North West Company, wrote to their associates in London to inform them of an American expedition about to leave New York to effect settlements at the mouth of the Columbia and on the Pacific coast, on the ground that the exploration of Lewis and Clark and the acquisition of Louisiana had pre-empted all that region for the United States. The importance of the matter is emphasized, and the need for immediate action. On April 2, Nathaniel Atcheson, as secretary of the British North American committee in London, memorialized the Marquis of Wellesley, secretary of state for foreign affairs, enclosing this letter, along with the above memorandum, and urged him to take immediate steps to assert the right of Britain to the Pacific coast. But Britain was deeply involved in the Napoleonic wars, now approaching their culminating point, and was little inclined to raise awkward issues with the United States. At any rate, the Marquis of Wellesley remained passive, and did not even reply to the memorial. On June 28 Atcheson wrote once more to Wellesley, but with no better result.

On November 10, Simon M'Gillivray, brother to William and Duncan and a member of the firm of McTavish, Fraser and Co., the London end of the North West Company, passed over the head of the foreign minister, Wellesley, and appealed to the prime minister, the Earl of Liverpool, himself. The letter, printed below in full, urged that action be taken by the government without delay.

It is now clear why David Thompson gave up his well-earned year of rest in Montreal and hastened back towards the Columbia; he was to reach the mouth of the river, to erect a fort, and to display the Union Jack floating over the Oregon to the Americans at their arrival. He took his family back with him to Fort Augustus and left them there. He sent the brigade upstream, while he himself travelled on horseback to Rocky Mountain House where he would join them. By some mischance, he missed the trail and reached the Saskatchewan at the very foot of the mountains. When the brigade did not find him at Rocky Mountain House, it proceeded upstream towards Howes pass. Alexander Henry reports: "This brigade had been stopped by the Piegans, who, having been severely defeated last summer by the Flat Heads, were determined to cut off the latter's supplies of arms and ammunition, and had kept a strict watch for that purpose."<sup>29</sup> The brigade, therefore, dropped back downstream to Rocky Mountain House, where Henry found them on his arrival to re-open the post. The Piegans were now at the fort watching the brigade. Henry adds: "No insult has been offered them." The Piegans' aim was no more than to prevent the brigade from crossing the mountains to their enemies. They would have good reasons for not doing anything that would put them in the wrong at the post from which they drew their ammunition. It was thought that Thompson was upstream towards the pass. Accordingly, Henry, evidently apprised of the need to get the expedition through, and past-master in handling the savages, sent the brigade downstream as if the enterprise were given up, got the Piegans dead drunk, and then sent the brigade back upstream under cover of night. This was on October 11. Next day, William Henry arrived from downstream and reported Thompson as being near the confluence of the Brazeau with the Saskatchewan, some forty miles below.

In his *Narrative* Thompson explains his doings. When he could not find the brigade, he sent William Henry to the river to search for it. Henry came on a camp of Piegans on the watch,

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, 643.

and below it, a spot where the canoes had been. "They had made a low rampart of Stones to defend themselves, and there was blood on the stones."<sup>30</sup> As there had been no attack on the brigade, the blood must have been of some animal killed when down at the river for drink. Thompson must have been obsessed by the idea that the Piegiens, according to Indian ideas, would require his life for the lives of the Piegiens slain in the battle with the Flat Heads. He came to the all-too-hasty decision that they had attacked the brigade and taken blood in revenge, and "that we must start at the dawn of day, and ride for our lives". All the evidence tends to show that the Piegiens, who would not want a bitter quarrel with the traders in their midst, were intent on no more than preventing the brigade from taking arms through to their foes. During that very winter (1810-1) Joseph Howes of the Hudson's Bay Company held a post across the mountains among the Flat Heads. The Piegiens watched to catch him on his return, but Mr. Flett of Acton House over against Rocky Mountain House, came to an agreement with them by which Howes was allowed to return in safety. It was a grave mistake on Thompson's part not to go bravely up to the Piegiens, and seek for some arrangement by which at least the part of the brigade going down to the mouth of the Columbia could be allowed to pass through unmolested. It can scarcely be doubted that such would have been the course followed by Alexander Mackenzie or Simon Fraser.

On news of Thompson's whereabouts, Henry recalled the canoes and dropped down the river to interview Thompson.

At noon we embarked and at 4 p.m. reached Mr Thompson's camp, on the N. side, on top of a hill 300 feet above the water, where tall pines stood so thickly that I could not see his tent until I came within 10 yards of it. He was starving, and waiting for his people—both his own canoes and those men who were coming down with his horses. His canoes having been stopped by the Piegiens induced him to alter his route and endeavour to open a new road from North branch [the Brazeau] by Buffalo Dung lake to Athabasca river, and thence across the mountains to the Columbia—a route by which a party of Nepisanguens and freemen passed a few years ago. By this route we should never be subject to the control of the Slaves [Piegiens], but should avoid their country and warlands entirely; for it lies far N., in a rugged country, which these Meadow [Prairie] Indians never enter. It was therefore ordered that the canoes should be ordered to return below as privately as possible, to avoid any misunderstanding with the natives.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup>Tyrrell (ed.), *David Thompson's narrative*, 440.

<sup>31</sup>Coues (ed.), *Henry-Thompson journals*, 657.

As it proved, this decision was fatal to Thompson's plan to reach the mouth of the Columbia before the Americans. The route was much more difficult than was thought, for the trail had to be cut most of the way. The result was that the party could not get across the Athabaska pass before it was blocked with snow. Thompson crossed on snow-shoes and built a canoe. When his goods and men had not arrived and as August had been set as the latest for his arrival at the mouth of the river, he once more changed his plan:

Our voyage to the Sea was to proceed down the River but having only three men . . . being the Men that had the courage to risque the chances of the Voyage, we were too weak to make our way through the numerous Indians we had to pass. . . . In order to augment my number of men I had to proceed up the River and to the Saleesh [Flat Head] country to where I knew I should find the free hunters, and engage some of them to accompany me. This gave us a long journey of hardship and much suffering.<sup>32</sup>

That was not all. It involved a great loss of time.

Thompson worked his way up to the source of the Columbia and down the Kootenay to the neighbourhood of the present Jennings, Montana. With some difficulty he procured the services of some freemen and horses and rode over to his Saleesh House in the present Montana. Here time was lost making another canoe for the further journey. Pressed now for time, for he says, "Necessity urged us on", he took the risk of navigating the Pend Oreille river, though it was in flood.

. . . The River now presented a great width agitated by eddies and whirlpools, its apparent height above the level of Autumn was about thirty feet, rushing through the woods in a fearful manner, every Island was a dangerous Fall and [had a] strong eddy at the lower end; we saw the risque before us, but we were all experienced men and kept the waves of the middle of the River; one place appeared so formidable that we put ashore, and carried everything for two and a half hours: we continued under the mercy of the Almighty and at sunset put up; each of us thankful for our preservation; as the morrow did not promise anything better, and necessity urged us on, my poor fellows, before laying down said their prayers, crossed themselves, and promised a Mass to be said for each, by the first Priest they should see.<sup>33</sup>

Yet there are those who say that Thompson was still in no hurry.

Thompson ran down the river to the neighbourhood of Cusick, Washington, beyond which he knew from his former explorations he could not go. He then crossed overland to Spokane House,

<sup>32</sup>Tyrrell (ed.), *David Thompson's narrative*, 455.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, 461.

near the confluence of the Spokane and Little Spokane, and continued overland to the Columbia at the Kettle falls. Considerable time was lost procuring the wood and building another canoe. At length, on July 3, he was travelling downstream on the broad waters of the Columbia. He had taken eleven weeks and two days to get afloat at the Kettle falls, while John Work in 1823 reached the falls in six days by the direct route by the Columbia downstream from Athabaska pass, the route which Thompson was supposed to take. True, Thompson reached the mouth of the Columbia on July 15, a fortnight before August, which he thought was time enough, but the Americans were there already, building Fort Astoria, and the stars and stripes were afloat on the breezes of the Oregon.

By failing to make the main object of the Columbian enterprise the main object of his activities, by turning away from the direct route by the Kootenay and the Columbia, by spending his summers taking out the furs instead of pressing on towards the sea, by establishing forts in the midst of, and arming, the enemies of the Piegiens, David Thompson fixed the predisposing conditions of his failure. When the crisis was on, by not facing the Piegiens and bargaining for an unmolested passage across the mountains, but changing the route to the unfrequented Athabaska pass, he failed to assert the right of Great Britain to the mouth of the Columbia by right of settlement before the arrival of the Americans. The Columbian enterprise entrusted to his hands went awry.

There is no pretence here to suggest that as the result of David Thompson's misjudgments Great Britain lost the Oregon. Looking beyond the barrages of legal arguments thrown out by the two sides, it may be said that the Americans never recognized the subsequent complete occupation of the Oregon by the Hudson's Bay Company as in any sense an effective occupation of the country. In truth, no title to a land is so substantial as that established by the Americans when a mass of migrants entered the country, created a form of government for themselves, and called on the mother republic to recognize it and take them to its bosom. No occupation of the mouth of the Columbia by the North West Company in anticipation of the expedition of John Jacob Astor could have changed the course of history. Thompson gave away to the Americans no more than the legal argument of first settlement, of which they made much in the negotiations over the country—an argument which stiffened the will of the American people to possess the Oregon.

ARTHUR S. MORTON

## DAVID THOMPSON'S SURVEYS IN THE NORTH-WEST<sup>1</sup>

THE original journals of David Thompson comprise the record of his journeyings day by day, the data and results of his astronomical observations, and the field-notes of his surveys in the north-west during the period from 1789 to 1812. These surveys extend from Lake Superior and Hudson bay on the east to the Pacific ocean, at the mouth of the Columbia river and from Peace river and Lake Athabaska on the north to the headwaters of the Mississippi and the country of the Mandan Indians on the Missouri river. They contain a wealth of information as to the location of the fur-trade posts of his day, but the practical value of this information largely depends upon its accuracy, or, failing that, upon a knowledge of the error to be expected.

In Mr. J. B. Tyrrell's preface to David Thompson's *Narrative*<sup>2</sup> there is this comment: "Thompson, besides being an excellent traveller, was an exceedingly accurate and methodical surveyor." The reader, possessed of a knowledge of the conditions under which Thompson worked and the equipment at his disposal, would be inclined to conclude that, if the foregoing statement is to be taken literally, Thompson must indeed have been a superman, or at least a super-surveyor. That it is not meant to be so taken, however, is shown by a later statement in the same preface (p. xix), which reads: "Everywhere his work was found to be of the very highest order, considering the means at his disposal."

Thompson worked under difficult conditions, and there is no disposition to question the greatness of his accomplishment; that is sufficiently proved by his map of the north-west, in which his survey work culminated. The fact remains, however, that should his estimated distances be used, say to locate Fort la Corne by starting from the "Forks" (the junction of the north and south branches) of the Saskatchewan river, they would place La Corne some ten miles too far upstream—an error of ten miles in an actual distance of twenty-four. Or again, if they were used from Fort la Corne to Isaac's House, mentioned below, the resulting

<sup>1</sup>Professor Arthur S. Morton, of the department of history, University of Saskatchewan, has added a few notes (initialled) in elucidation of this article. His quotations from documents in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, London, are by the kind permission of the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company.

<sup>2</sup>J. B. Tyrrell (ed.), *David Thompson's narrative of his explorations in western America, 1784-1812* (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1916), xvi.

position of that house would be some eight miles too far upstream—an error of eight miles in an actual distance of eighteen. No extreme accuracy there, one would be inclined to conclude.

It is evident that, if the information available in his survey notes is to be used to the best advantage, something more is required than his estimated distances. Information is needed as to his average error per mile, the reliability of his bearings and of his observed latitudes and longitudes, and, in general, information as to the best method to follow when interpreting his surveys. To obtain this a detailed analysis of his methods is necessary.

Of all Thompson's surveys, probably those of the Saskatchewan river present the best conditions for investigating his work. In the autumn of 1793 he made a survey from "The Old Houses" on Cumberland lake up the Saskatchewan river to the junction of its north and south branches. In the spring of 1794, he surveyed from Buckingham House, in the north-east quarter of section 22, township 56, range 5, west of the fourth meridian, on the North Saskatchewan river and down that river past the "Forks" and on to the "Old Houses" on Cumberland lake. Both these surveys start and finish at points whose accurate location is known. There are accurate maps available for purposes of comparison, and, in addition, these two surveys permit of comparing Thompson with himself, since they contain two surveys by him of that portion of the Saskatchewan river lying between the "Forks" and the "Old Houses" on Cumberland lake. Consequently, it was decided to make a detailed examination of these two surveys. The following remarks have reference to the information resulting from that examination.<sup>3</sup>

A typical example of Thompson's journal is here quoted:

Oct. 10th (1793) Thursday. Showers of rain last night & much troubled with a bear. At 6 A M set off. Co. NW b W  $\frac{1}{2}$  M,

<sup>3</sup>For this examination the source-material used consists of: (1) David Thompson's journal of his journey upstream from Cumberland House to South Branch House on the South Saskatchewan, 1793 (he travelled overland to Buckingham House); his journal downstream from Buckingham House to Cumberland House (these two are strictly surveys); his "Courses", which are his compilation of his conclusions and which include his "Courses corrected"; his journal of 1800, little more than a sketch referring to notable features of his journey; and his "Observations" for latitude and longitude. These are all in the Ontario Archives. Photostat copies are in the library of the University of Saskatchewan. (2) Short extracts from Peter Fidler's survey of the Saskatchewan river from Cumberland House to Buckingham House, 1792; from Matthew Cocking's log, 1772 and 1773; and from the journals of Carlton House (the first of that name), Cumberland House, and Hudson House,—all bearing on the sites of the forts on the river, and referred to with the permission of the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company in whose archives they lie. They assist in gauging the accuracy of Thompson's survey. [A.S.M.]



S 80 W  $\frac{1}{2}$  M, . . . S 30 W  $1\frac{1}{4}$  M, a strong current & the first piece of Tracking. S 15 W  $\frac{1}{2}$  M, . . . S 15 W  $1\frac{1}{4}$  M, a deep Bay under the Point, looks like a small lake. To the Point Co. SW b W  $\frac{1}{2}$  M, passed at end of Co. Hungry Hall; an Island in the mid. of Co. in mid. of River, width  $\frac{1}{4}$  M. N 60 W  $\frac{1}{4}$  M, . . . SW  $\frac{3}{4}$  M  $\times$   $\frac{1}{2}$  M or more with large islands. S 50 W 2 M. Put up about  $4\frac{3}{4}$  P M to pitch our canoes.

A typical example of his compiled notes is:

Courses	Var'n E.	Courses Corrected	Dist. Miles	Latitude North	Longitude West
N 75 W	11°	N 64 W	1		
West	"	N 79 W	$\frac{1}{4}$	54°-57'-16"	102°-14'-56"
S 45 W	"	S 56 W	$\frac{1}{4}$	-57'-02"	-15'-38"
N 67 W	"	N 56 W	$\frac{1}{2}$	-57'-20"	-16'-20"

The records of his astronomical observations consist of the observed data and the results of his calculations in connection with his observations to determine the latitude and longitude of certain points, and to determine the magnetic variation. Between Buckingham House and the "Old Houses" on Cumberland lake he took five observations for latitude and one observation for longitude.

Deduced from his notes it is apparent that the instruments he used for his surveys were a magnetic compass, a sextant, and a watch. His magnetic bearings were taken usually only to the nearest five degrees. His distances are only recorded to the nearest quarter mile, and were not actually measured, but were estimated by eye or elapsed time of travel, except when crossing a portage where apparently he paced the distances.

From the foregoing it is reasonable to expect that his latitudes, and possibly his longitudes, as determined by astronomical observations, will be fairly correct; that his magnetic bearings will include errors up to at least two and a half degrees, and probably considerably more; and that his estimated distances almost certainly will include fairly large errors. Such are the expectations. What does the examination reveal?

Plotting Thompson's survey westerly from the "Old Houses" on Cumberland lake according to his distances and corrected bearings as given in his compiled notes for the survey made in 1793, we skirt the south shore of Cumberland lake to the head of the "Upper Little River" (Bigstone river). Then we follow down the Bigstone to its junction with the Saskatchewan river, and thence up the Saskatchewan (present "Old Channel") to

a point where Thompson made an astronomical observation for latitude and longitude (N. Lat.  $55^{\circ}44'23''$  and W. Long.  $102^{\circ}45'$ ), the total distance so covered, according to his notes, being thirty miles. In this relatively short distance we find that our plot has departed from the actual position of the river by some four miles in latitude and seventeen miles in longitude. To make our plot coincide at its beginning and termination with the actual locations as shown on modern maps, we would have to swing all the bearings by ten degrees and give Thompson's mile a value of 1.82 miles actual. When we do so we obtain a fairly good portrayal of the actual sinuosities and position of the river. (His observed latitude, above quoted, was three-quarters of a mile in error, and the observed longitude seventeen miles in error.)

Upon referring to Thompson's compiled notes we find that, in addition to showing the bearing and distance for each course of his survey, they show the latitude and longitude for the end of each course. These latitudes and longitudes, except where an astronomical observation had been taken, must have been calculated from the bearing and distance of each course. When the necessary calculations are made to check up his notes in this connection, it is found that the latitudes and longitudes given are not those which agree with the bearings and distances noted for corresponding courses, but have all been increased by a proportionate amount. That is, Thompson had found his distances and bearings were not correct and had adjusted them by applying a proportional correction. The only means he had of checking his surveys was by comparing them with his latitudes and longitudes determined by astronomical observation. No doubt his whole system of survey was to determine the position of certain points as accurately as possible by observation and then to fill in between these points by rough track surveys, which he adjusted proportionally to fit in between them.

The accuracy resulting from Thompson's method of adjusting his surveys would depend on the accuracy of his astronomical observations for latitude and longitude, and also upon whether the errors occurring in his track surveys were consistent and regular. This phase of the matter was next investigated. It was found that his observed latitudes were in general fairly accurate; usually within one mile of being correct. His observed longitudes are less dependable, but are usually within two miles of being correct. (One case where the error was seventeen miles has already been noted.)

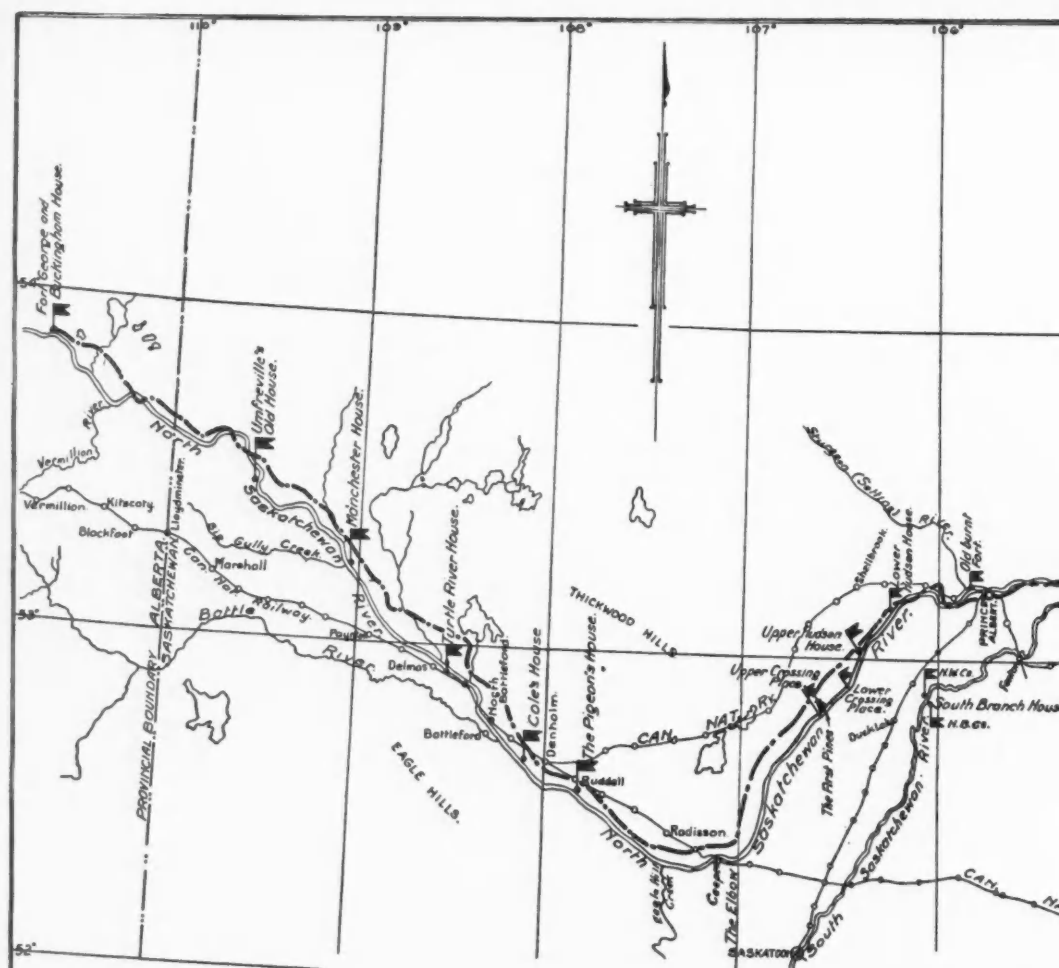
The magnetic bearings recorded for his surveys contain inconsistent and irregular errors. This is definitely established by the fact that in two instances, in connection with the particular survey investigated, the bearings given make the Saskatchewan river to cross itself. It is also established by comparing Thompson with himself, which is made possible through the fact that we have two surveys by him of the same portion of the river. When we come to plot these two surveys, and so compare one with the other, numerous inconsistent and irregular local differences are shown.

The errors in distance are also inconsistent and irregular. This is definitely established by comparing Thompson with himself, as above described. It is also established by comparing the plot of Thompson's survey with accurate modern maps. Errors in distance vary all the way from ten to one hundred per cent.

The foregoing, then, establishes the fact that Thompson's errors of survey were not consistent and regular, and it follows that we shall find considerable inaccuracies and distortions even after he has adjusted his surveys to distribute the errors. That this is the case is demonstrated by the following examples, wherein are shown the latitude and longitude which Thompson gives for various points after having adjusted his surveys, and also the amount by which they differ from the correct position:

	Location according to Thompson after he had adjusted his surveys		Error in miles	
	N. Latitude	W. Longitude	Latitude	Longitude
Hungry Hall.....	53°-36'-53"	103°-02'-15"	.... $\frac{1}{4}$ mile	.... 17 miles
The Neepoin.....	53 -18 -20	103 -51 -00	.... $1\frac{1}{2}$ "	.... 10 "
Isaac's House.....	53 -14 -41	104 -10 -16	.... 1 "	.... 13 "
Junction of north and south branches of Sas- katchewan river.....	53 -14 -10	104 -48 -15	.... $\frac{1}{4}$ "	.... $11\frac{1}{2}$ "
Old burnt fort near Prince Albert.....	53 -11 -19	105 -48 -35	.... $1\frac{1}{4}$ "	.... 2 "
Elbow of Saskatchewan river (north branch)...	52 -25 -31	107 -06 -21	.... $3\frac{1}{2}$ "	.... 2 "
Eagle Hill creek.....	52 -24 -02	107 -29 -33	.... $3\frac{1}{2}$ "	.... $3\frac{1}{2}$ "
Mouth of Battle river...	52 -49 -04	108 -13 -37	.... $7\frac{1}{2}$ "	.... 1 "
Mouth of Turtle river...	53 -02 -16	108 -32 -15	.... 6 "	.... $1\frac{1}{2}$ "
Manchester House.....	53 -17 -55	109 -04 -23	.... 6 "	.... $1\frac{1}{2}$ "
Mouth of Frog creek...	53 -47 -35	110 -20 -29	.... 3 "	.... 4 "
Mouth of Moose creek...	53 -40 -45	110 -32 -56	.... 1 "	.... $3\frac{1}{2}$ "
Buckingham House and Fort George.....	53 -52 -07	110 -41 -07	.... 1 "	.... $2\frac{1}{2}$ "

It is a fact then, which we have to accept, that the latitudes and longitudes given in Thompson's notes cannot, in general, be



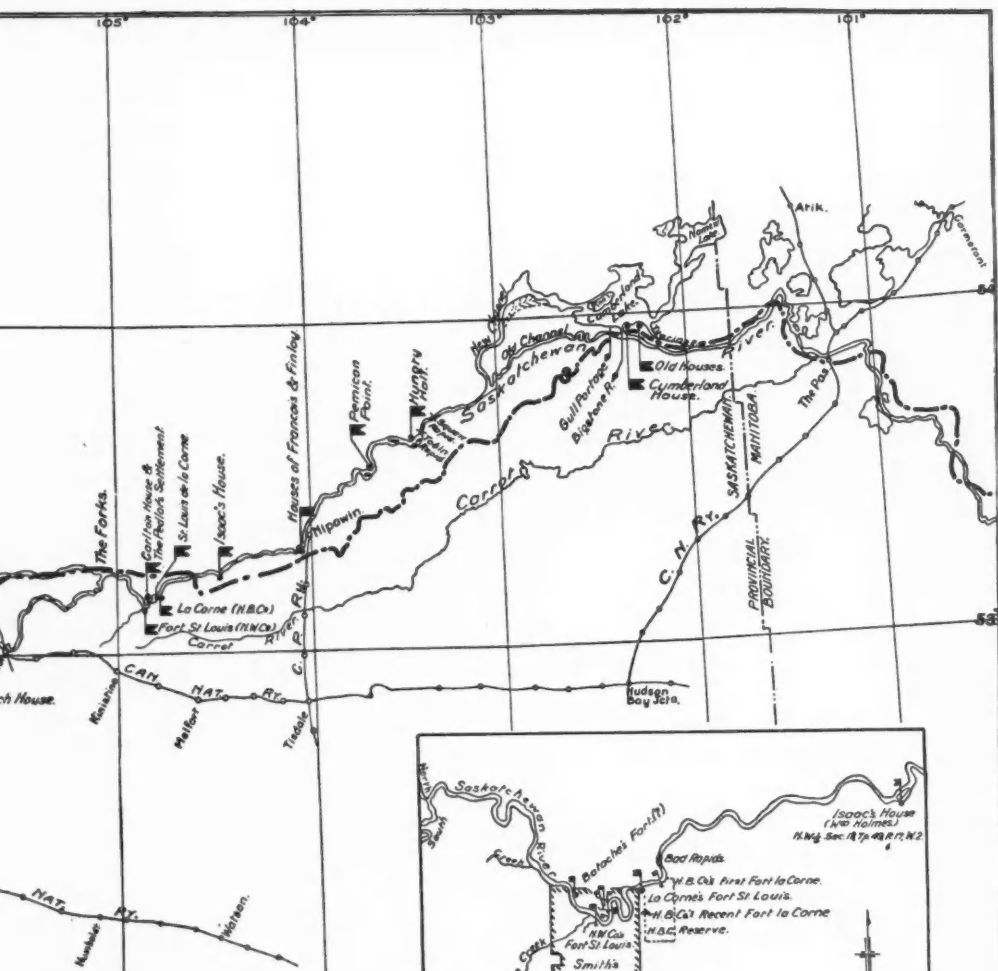
**MAP:** Showing location of part of the Saskatchewan River according to David Thompson's surveys of 1793, 1795, and according to surveys of the present day (1935.)

**SCALE:**

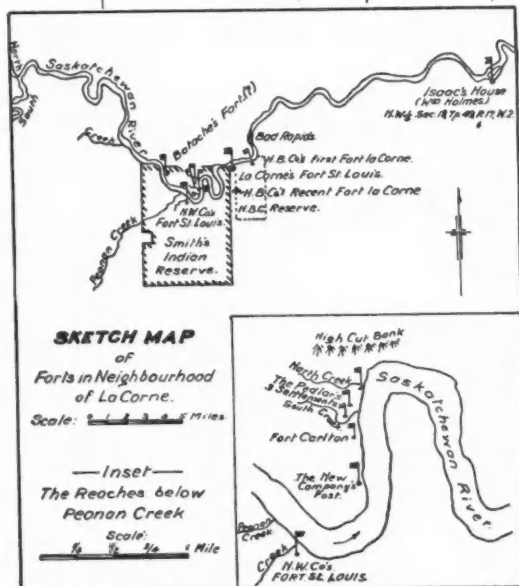
Miles 20 15 10 5 0 10 20 Miles.

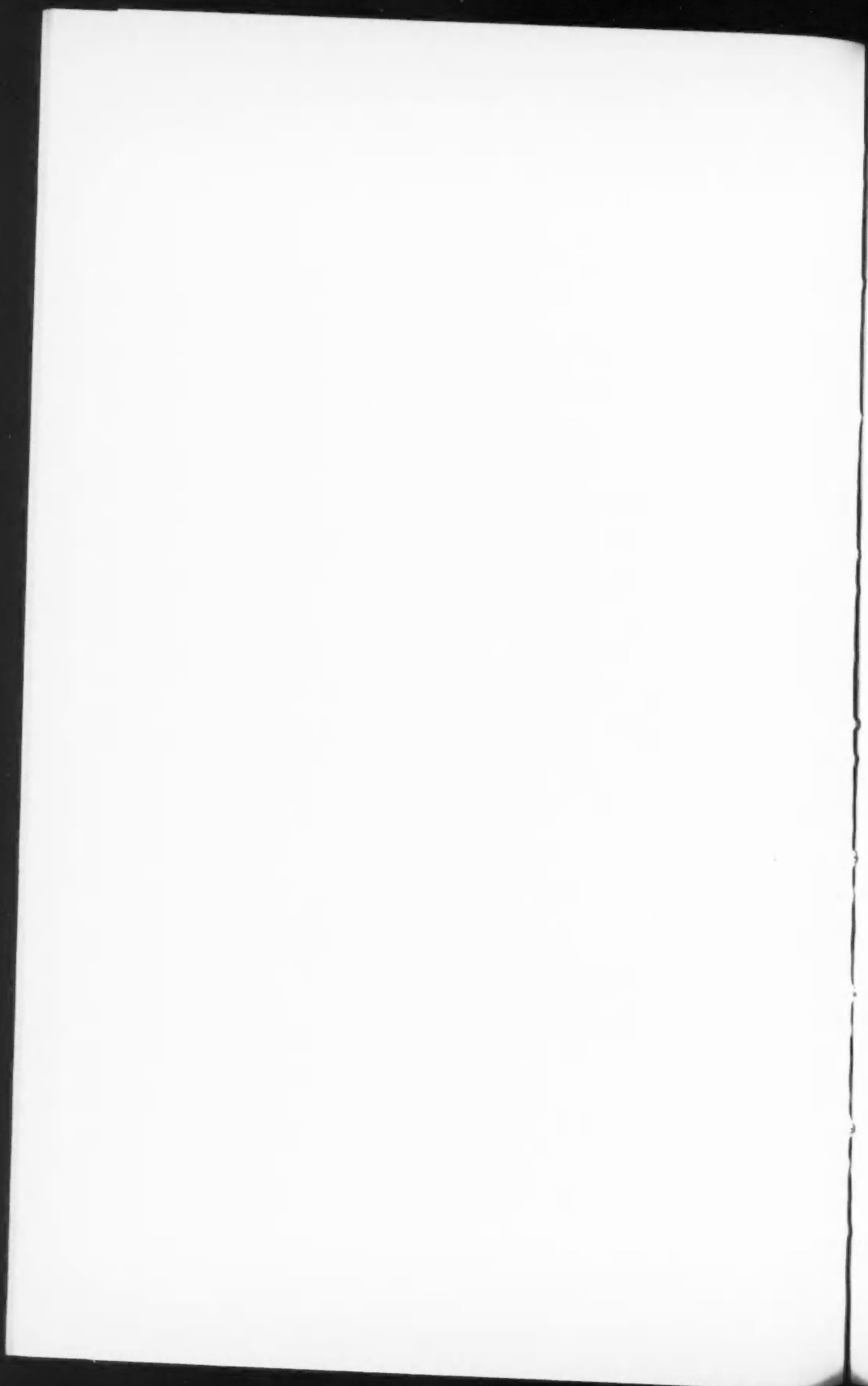
**LEGEND:**

— · — · — Saskatchewan River according to surveys by David Thompson.



n River.  
3, 1794 & 1800,  
35.)





Of all Thompson's surveys, those relating to the Saskatchewan river probably permit of the most convenient field investigation to-day. The points of interest are in most cases accessible without too much difficulty or expenditure of time, and there exist accurate modern maps for the investigator's assistance. Should we start from Cumberland House with Thompson and relate the information he supplies in his notes to that available from other sources and from recent field investigation, we first skirt the south shore of Cumberland lake westerly to its outlet into his "Upper Little River" (Bigstone river on modern maps), then down this short stretch of river to the Saskatchewan. To-day the main channel of the Saskatchewan flows into and through Cumberland lake, but in Thompson's day, and up to as recently as 1905 to my knowledge, it did not. (For this discussion of the Saskatchewan river survey, the reader should follow the map opposite p. 294.)

Following upstream on the Saskatchewan river, Thompson next noted "Gull Portage". This was a short portage from the Saskatchewan into Cumberland lake. The swift water in the "Upper Little River" and the overhanging willows on its banks made it very difficult to ascend, and in 1905, and no doubt in Thompson's time, it was the custom for canoes bound for Cumberland from the west, to portage into Cumberland lake over this Gull portage, to avoid the difficulty of the "Upper Little River".

The "head" and "mouth" of the "Sturgeon River" to which reference is next made is confusing, for Thompson is travelling on the Saskatchewan. This probably was a local name of his time for one of the channels of the Saskatchewan.

Just below the "first piece of tracking" Thompson put up for the night, being "much troubled with a bear". To-day, as then, the bears are a source of trouble to the camper in this locality. The "first piece of tracking" was the Squaw and Tobin rapids of to-day, up which the men had to haul the canoes by a line from the shore. Above the "first piece of tracking" he came to "Hungry Hall", a trading post operated by Thorburn in 1791. ("Tobin", the name of the rapids, is a corruption of "Thorburn".) Franklin's map<sup>1</sup> shows a post here on the north side of the river, and this, combined with the information in Thompson's journal and survey notes, fixes the site as on the north bank of the river in the south half of section 31, township 53, range 10, west of the

<sup>1</sup>Accompanying Captain John Franklin's *Narrative of a journey to the shores of the polar sea, in the years 1819-22* (London, 1823).



second meridian. So far as is known no adequate search has been made for the ruins of this old post.

"Pemican Point", shown upon modern maps, comes next and can be readily identified in Thompson's survey. He makes no reference to an early post here, which was occupied by François for a short time in 1767-8.<sup>5</sup>

"Finlay's Fall" is next noted. It is the Nipawin rapid of to-day, and about a mile above it Thompson notes "The Neepoin, the Canadian Houses of Messrs. McLeod & Porter in 1792-3". He also refers to this post as "The Neepoin by Mr. Ross".<sup>6</sup> There is need for further search in this locality. François occupied a post by the falls in 1768, and Finlay may have built the post whose ruins are near by. François's post was visited by Matthew Cocking of the Hudson's Bay Company (May 20-3, 1773); it is described in his journal. The ruins of these two posts (François's and Finlay's) have been found on the south bank of the river in the south-west quarter of section 12, township 50, range 15, west of the second meridian. The houses of McLeod and Porter, referred to by Thompson, there seems little doubt, were about a mile upstream from the houses of François and Finlay. There is no record of their ruins having been found.

"Isaac's House" is the next post upstream. Thompson's survey definitely fixes its location on the south bank of the river in the north-west quarter of section 18, township 49, range 17, west of the second meridian, where its ruins may now be seen.<sup>7</sup> Some

<sup>5</sup>See the extract from the journal of William Pink travelling inland for the Hudson's Bay Company, May 25, 1768, printed by Mr. J. B. Tyrrell in his introduction to the *Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor* (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1934), 7-8. This would be the French post passed by Matthew Cocking on August 8, 1772, and referred to as "an old Trading house, belonging to the French pedlars before the conquest of Quebec" ("An adventurer from Hudson bay: Journal of Matthew Cocking", ed. by L. J. Burpee, *Royal Society of Canada transactions*, 1908, ser. 3, II, sect. 2, 101). François was a trader on the Saskatchewan before the conquest of Canada, but not at this post, which was occupied in the winter of 1767-8. [A.S.M.]

<sup>6</sup>Thompson's phrase might suggest that Malchom Ross built a post here. Ross came up from Cumberland House in 1794, arriving on January 20, to get provisions. He left on February 10, unable to get so much as a hunter. The journal of his trip is preserved in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives; it makes no mention of his building a post. [A.S.M.]

<sup>7</sup>Peter Fidler's survey of 1792 agrees with David Thompson's location of the site of Isaac's House, and the remains are found *in situ*. Fidler adds that it was "called by our people, Isaac's, on account of Isaac Batt formerly in the Hudson's Bay service, absconding & remaining I believe two years at this place, when he returned back to his former employ". The Cumberland House journal of February 9, 1777, tells of Robert Longmoor and Malchom Ross journeying up the Saskatchewan. They "passed the lower House, where one Master [William Holmes] with Isaac Batt and a few men are residing". As Isaac's House was thus occupied till 1777, it would be the first fort to which Alexander Henry, the elder, would come as he travelled up the river in January, 1776. Its remains are on an unusually broad river-flat, the ascent from which to the

claim that this was the site of the "Fort des Prairies" visited by Alexander Henry, the elder, in 1776. Others hold that the "Fort des Prairies" was in the neighbourhood of "La Corne", some eighteen miles upstream. Thompson, however, in his surveys of 1793 and 1794 makes no reference to any trading post in the vicinity of La Corne.

As La Corne is a region of many forts and presents a nice problem in their identification, it may be of service to digress here to outline the results obtained by recent field investigation in the vicinity. In approaching La Corne, travelling upstream, a bad rapid is passed on section 36, township 48, range 20, west of the second meridian, and after about three-quarters of a mile the ruins of old Fort à la Corne of the Hudson's Bay Company are reached. There is no question as to the identification of this fort. There is doubt, however, as to the correctness of the commonly accepted opinion that it was erected upon the site of the old fort established by La Corne under the French régime. Matthew Cocking's log places this old French fort some three miles upstream from the bad rapid above referred to. It would, therefore, place La Corne's Fort St. Louis on the same river-flat about two miles above the company's post. At about two miles above that rapid, and one mile west of that post, cellars and chimney mounds of two old posts exist on the south bank of the river in the fractional section lying between the Hudson's Bay Company reserve and the Smith Indian reservation. One of these sites may have been that of the old French fort.<sup>8</sup> (See the inset in the map accompanying this article.)

Some four miles farther upstream, on the north-west bank of the river, there exists a fine level bench. Upon this bench, on the north reach of the river, are the remains of four posts on

plains is more than a mile away. The outer bank of the river is one long precipice save at one point by which the ascent is made to the prairie. This suits Henry's statement: "We departed at an early hour [for the plains] and after a march of about two miles, ascended the table-land, which lies above the river, and of which the level is two hundred feet higher than that of the land on which the fort is built" (Alexander Henry, *Travels and adventures in Canada and the Indian territories*, ed. by James Bain, Toronto, 1901, 280). [A.S.M.]

<sup>8</sup>As Mr. Stewart and I were going with the Indians towards these remains, the question was raised, What might be the distinguishing features of a French post? The answer was that the English posts were in the main, approximately square, while judging by the dimensions of La Vérendrye's Fort St. Charles on the Lake of the Woods (see *Aulneau collection*, ed. by the Rev. Arthur E. Jones, Montreal, 1893, 72, and *Bulletin de la Société Historique de St. Boniface*, I, 219), and by François's post at Nipawj, as above, the French forts were oblong, and stood with the narrow side facing the river. Of the two posts mentioned by Mr. Stewart, the one nearer to the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort à la Corne, conformed to this pattern, being sixty feet by one hundred and fifty. (François's post at Nipawj was forty by one hundred and fifty.) The narrow side faced the river. It seems reasonably certain that this was the Fort St. Louis of the Chevalier de la Corne. [A.S.M.]

almost contiguous sites. One of these posts was the Hudson's Bay Company's "Carlton House", established in 1795, after the destruction by the Fall Indians of that company's post on the south branch of the Saskatchewan river in the preceding year. Peter Fidler's survey places it on the identical reach, and on the north bank. The Carlton House journal of August 28 and September 21, 1798, mentions men of the name of Grant and MacKenzie of a "new association" arriving and building a house about half a mile higher up the river. A search of the bank, commencing at the uppermost of these four posts, revealed the site, proving that Carlton House was one of the four contiguous posts. What of the remaining three?<sup>9</sup>

The North West Company abandoned its house on the south branch at the same time as the Hudson's Bay Company and moved to this region (1794). Alexander Henry, the younger, going upstream in 1808, traded with Indians at the site of this post, which he says was called St. Louis "from its proximity to the old French fort below".<sup>10</sup> His narrative shows that the post stood on the south bank of the river. Upstream from the contiguous sites a matter of a mile, and on the south bank of the river there are the ruins of a large trading post, just east of a little creek which flows into the Saskatchewan about one thousand feet east of the mouth of Peonan creek (shown on modern maps). There seems little doubt but that these are the ruins of the North West Company's Fort St. Louis, mentioned by Henry in his journal of 1808. There is a claim that here also was an old French fort, but this claim is probably based on a misinterpretation of the entry of May 4, 1779, in the journal of Philip Turnor. Turnor

<sup>9</sup>These three posts must have been the three referred to in the Cumberland House journal of February 7, 1777, the winter after the pedlars moved up to Sturgeon river, west of Prince Albert, and established the "upper settlement" of the journal. "Robert Longmoor . . . passed the lower House where one Master [William Holmes] with Isaac Batt are residing. . . . He says that the Pedlars at first had three Settlements, and there was great Emulation among them in endeavouring to undersell one another. . . . But however these finding the inconvenience of their acting separately and through Persuasions used by others, they consented to join, and accordingly they all went up to the Upper Settlement, except one Master with a few goods who was stationed at the lower House, as before mentioned." It would seem, therefore, that the four different Canadian interests mentioned by Alexander Henry as striving for the trade of the Saskatchewan and forced by the keenness of the competition to enter the pool of 1775 (*Travels and adventures*, 320), had each a fort, the lowest one being Isaac's House, and that the upper three, whose sites Mr. Stewart points out, were closed in the autumn of 1776 in favour of the joint settlement at the Sturgeon river. Alexander Henry would scarcely have returned to his post on Beaver lake, north-east of Cumberland House, without visiting these. The "Contiguous" posts of his note at p. 319, one named Fort des Prairies or Fort du Tremble, must be two of the settlements under discussion. There is, however, some late evidence to the effect that Isaac's House was known as Fort du Tremble. [A.S.M.]

<sup>10</sup>Elliott Coues (ed.), *New light on the early history of the greater north-west: The manuscript journals of Alexander Henry and David Thompson* (New York, 1897), II, 482.

places William Holmes's fort as five miles below the old French post of La Corne;<sup>11</sup> but Holmes's fort of 1775-6 was, as we have seen, more probably at the site of Isaac's House, some seventeen miles below the Hudson's Bay Company's post, Fort à la Corne.

At a site on the north bank of the Saskatchewan, just within the Smith Indian reserve and some two miles upstream from the mouth of Peonan creek, there is some evidence that a "Fort Batoche" was located. That locality has still to be searched. It is not referred to by David Thompson.

Leaving the vicinity of La Corne, Thompson next notes the "Forks" of the Saskatchewan, which he indicates as "Junction of the Branches (Pekahkemew)". Pekahkemew, or Piggogomew (Muddy river), is one of the several names by which the south branch of the Saskatchewan has been known. (Some claim it has reference to this being the river down which the Piegan Indians came; others assert that the Piegan Indians did not use canoes.)<sup>12</sup>

Digressing from Thompson's survey here for a moment, it probably should be mentioned that there is evidence of there having been a post, called variously Fort Mosquito and Fort Mauvauquin, located on the north bank of the river some three miles downstream from the "Forks".

Continuing with Thompson, we observe that he next refers to the vicinity of the present-day city of Prince Albert, and he notes "Holmes Island", without reference to any trading post upon it. On this island, according to a local tradition, there was a trading post at the time of the smallpox epidemic which decimated the Indians in 1781. (The local tradition runs that none of the white traders at the post contracted the disease.) This island is one of the two rather small islands in section 12, township 49, range 26, west of the second meridian, according to the plot of Thompson's survey. There is no trace of ruins on these or any other islands opposite Prince Albert.

Some three miles above the present city of Prince Albert is the mouth of the Sturgeon river, which Thompson notes as: "Mouth of Setting River; about two hundred yards below is the old burnt

<sup>11</sup>Tyrrell (ed.), *Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor*, 231.

<sup>12</sup>H. Y. Hind's comparison of the two branches probably explains the Indian name: "The water of the South Branch is yellowish-brown in colour, and turbid; of the North Branch a shade lighter and clearer" (H. Y. Hind, *Report . . . on the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan exploring expedition*, London ed., 1860, 74). The Piegans got their descriptive name as in the journals of the Saskatchewan posts of the Hudson's Bay Company, "Muddy River Indians", from the river on which they roamed, and not the river from the Piegans. [A.S.M.]

fort." The ruins of this old fort have been searched for repeatedly without success.<sup>13</sup>

Lower Hudson House is next. Thompson notes it as "Hudson House per Mr. Tomison", and at the location indicated by his survey, the ruins of both the Hudson's Bay Company's and the North West Company's forts have been found on the west bank of the river in the north-west quarter of section 16, township 46, range 2, west of the third meridian.

Upper Hudson House is next noted by Thompson as "Hudson House per Mr. Turnor". Longmoor was at this house for the Hudson's Bay Company in 1779-80, and Philip Turnor, the company's surveyor, was there with him in the later months of the winter. Thompson's distances on this section of the river are very unreliable, due probably to the long straight reaches, the length of which would be difficult to estimate with any degree of accuracy. Consequently, his surveys provide very little definite information as to the location of points of interest in the vicinity. Turnor places the post at 53° 0' 32" N. Lat.<sup>14</sup> According to Longmoor's journal<sup>15</sup> it was about four hundred yards from the middle settlement of the Canadians, their post at Sturgeon river being the lower settlement, and the one at Eagle hills, mentioned below, being the upper settlement. The Canadians called their post Fort du Milieu, the Middle Fort, as Thompson's journal of 1800 shows. Alexander Henry, the younger, refers to it under that name,<sup>16</sup> and places it on the north bank. Repeated searches have at last revealed what appear to be the remains of this Canadian post. They are in the south-west quarter of section 32, township 46, range 3, west of the third meridian, within about half a mile of the latitude given by Turnor for the Hudson's Bay Company's post.

David Thompson places the "Lower Crossing" three of his miles above the so-called Hudson's House. Peter Fidler's survey indicates the "Crossing Place" as at the head of an island on the south side, which must be the long island whose head or westerly end is in section 26, township 45, range 4, west of the third meridian. This is four miles further upstream, and must be the upper crossing place. From these crossing places an overland track ran to the south branch houses on the South Saskatchewan on

<sup>13</sup>The fort was burned down in 1780 (Hudson House journal of Sept. 27, 1780), and a new fort was built "a little below their Old House" (*ibid.*, Oct. 6). The remains of this new establishment may still be seen on the north bank (opposite Betts island) in the western half of section 6, township 49, range 26, west of the second meridian. [A.S.M.]

<sup>14</sup>Hudson's Bay Company Archives, York Fort, Inland correspondence. [A.S.M.]

<sup>15</sup>In the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. [A.S.M.]

<sup>16</sup>Coues (ed.), *Henry-Thompson journals*, II, 490.

Gardepuis' crossing of later times (in section 2, township 45, range 1, west of the third meridian). Writing of the (upper) crossing place on the north branch, Fidler says that there were no pines there on either side of the river, "But on the south side they are but little below us". This tallies with Thompson's survey downstream, which appears to place the "first pines" opposite the long island. We thus ascertain the exact spot at which the fur-traders passed from the fringe of the forest belt into the bald prairie. They called the region La Montée, because here the *bourgeois* left the canoes to proceed upstream, while they *mounted* horses to ride to their post of the time, hunting by the way and providing the canoes with fresh venison.

For nearly one hundred miles now the river winds through prairie country before there is mention of another post, which Thompson notes as "The Pigeons House". His survey locates this post in the south-west quarter of section 32, township 41, range 13, west of the third meridian, being south and a little east of the village of Ruddell on the Canadian National Railway. So far as is known no search has been made for this post.

Some fifteen miles upstream, in a low bottom upon the north bank of the river and opposite the Eagle hills, was Fort Montagne d'Aigle. Here the trader Cole was killed by the Indians in the spring of 1779. Peter Fidler in 1792 refers to this house as "an old Canadian Settlement on the North side, called Cole's House, that those went to that left the Pigeon's House below". Here again, owing to the long straight reaches of the river, the estimates of distance made by Thompson are unreliable. Several searches of the vicinity have been unsuccessful in discovering any evidence of this old post.

We now pass the mouth of the Battle river and the present city of North Battleford and come to Turtle River House, placed by Thompson's journal of 1800, as two miles east of the mouth of the Turtle river. There the remains of this old house were found on the north-west quarter of section 34, in township 45, range 18, west of the third meridian, on the south bank of the river, due east from Delmas, Saskatchewan. Erosion has destroyed part of this site; one of the chimney mounds having partly caved away with the eroded bank of the river.

Manchester House comes next. It was established for the Hudson's Bay Company by Robert Longmoor in 1786 and was attacked by the Indians and abandoned in 1793. Thompson's survey of 1794 notes this house, and his journal of 1800 locates Island House, the rival North West Company's post, as in the

same vicinity. There were several houses on the island formerly known as Pine island, but now passing locally under the name Spruce island. The site of one of these posts is marked by ruins, in the south-east quarter of section 19, township 49, range 21, west of the third meridian. Thompson's latitude and longitude place this house some six miles too far north and one and one-half miles too far west, but by comparing the plot of his survey with modern maps its location could be determined very closely and resulted in the discovery of the ruins on the island.

The last post on the Saskatchewan river in the present province of Saskatchewan, was the "Old House of Umfreville", noted by Thompson in his survey of 1800. The plot of that survey fixed the location of this post as having been on the west bank of the river and opposite an island, identified on modern maps as the island crossed by the south boundary of township 52, range 25, west of the third meridian. Search here, in the spring of 1933, revealed the ruins of this old house of the North West Company, which in 1784 was the uppermost trading post on the North Saskatchewan. The ruins found are on the south-west quarter of section 1, in township 52, range 25, west of the third meridian, and consist of the usual cellar depressions and their bordering mounds of chimney stones. There are five cellars and three chimney mounds, all contained within a rectangle of one hundred and thirty by sixty feet. The site is on a rather narrow bottom backed by high hills, and the cellars are some seventy-five feet west of the present river bank, among a heavy growth of fair-sized poplar.

So far as concerns the trading posts on the Saskatchewan river in the present province of Saskatchewan, the further field investigation necessary may be summarized as at Hungry Hall, Pemmican point, Nipawin, possibly at La Corne for the site of Fort Batoche, Fort Mosquito, Pigeon's House, and Fort Montagne d'Aigle (Cole's House).

\* \* \* \* \*

What is the general conclusion as to Thompson's survey work? Looked at piece-meal, there is nothing particularly outstanding about the accuracy of his track surveys. All the errors which would be expected in average work of its class are there. Many of his astronomical observations were not remarkably accurate, although some of them—principally those made at the posts where he was wintering and had unlimited time—were surprisingly good. His contemporary, Philip Turnor, however, obtained some results equally good. Nevertheless, there is a con-



tinuity, a pressing on methodically year after year to a definite goal by means of a definite system, which distinguishes Thompson's work.

The system he adopted is plain: the fixing of certain key points as accurately as possible by astronomical observation and filling in between them by rough track surveys. There was nothing remarkable about the system; it was that common to exploration work during his day.

His goal was the mapping, the establishing of a framework of the geography of the north-west, then a vast wilderness—a goal that might well capture the imagination and ambition of any man. It may be said that even here Thompson was but the creature of circumstance; that he was just an average surveyor who happened to be given the job of mapping the north-west, and whose superiors, through their business necessity, provided him with the opportunity to carry the task through to completion. In this attitude there is an element of truth, but the evidence is that there was something more in Thompson—the capacity to conceive a great purpose and to press on to its fulfilment.

The high standard generally ascribed to Thompson's geographical work tends to create the expectation of an accuracy in his survey work which detailed investigation has shown does not exist. The recognition of the errors in his surveys may, in turn, tend to reflect on his reputation as a geographer. That would not be justified. He was not particularly concerned with the matter of a mile or two one way or the other in the location of a lone trading post. His purpose was only to locate a few points with all the accuracy available to him and then fill in between them with approximate detail. His surveys accomplished that purpose admirably. Upon the accompanying map is shown the position of the Saskatchewan river according to the latest surveys, also the position as determined by Thompson's surveys. The agreement is surprisingly good. To have entered the unmapped region of the north-west and to have fixed the location of the main topographical features of so vast an area as closely as he did, has established David Thompson as the greatest of American geographers.

As a surveyor, certainly his work in the north-west cannot be literally described as extremely accurate, but it did with equal certainty accomplish his purpose with all the accuracy necessary to his day, and is such as still to be of extensive use to the explorer and historian.

W. M. STEWART

## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### THE APPEAL OF THE NORTH WEST COMPANY TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO FORESTALL JOHN JACOB ASTOR'S COLUMBIAN ENTERPRISE

The following documents are referred to in Professor Morton's article on "The North West Company's Columbian Enterprise and David Thompson" which is printed in this issue. They are taken from the *Q Series* of the Public Archives of Canada. Number I is from a memorandum of September 30, 1809, sent by the committee of trade at Montreal to the British ambassador in Washington. It discusses trade relations with the United States, the "vexations and impositions" imposed by the Americans on the fur-trade carried on by the Canadians south of the border, the exclusion of the Canadians from the fur-trade which they had enjoyed in Louisiana, from days long before the purchase of that region by the United States. The paragraph quoted refers to the Columbian territory. Number II is a letter of January 23, 1810, from the agents of the North West Company in Montreal to their correspondents in London. Number III is a letter from Nathaniel Atcheson, secretary of the British North American committee in London, enclosing numbers I and II and addressed to the Marquis of Wellesley, secretary of state for foreign affairs. Number IV is a second letter from Atcheson to the Marquis of Wellesley. Number V is a letter of Simon M'Gillivray enclosing all the above and addressed to the prime minister, the Earl of Liverpool.

#### I

[*Q Series, volume 113, page 238*]

Memorandum of Points, wherein Canada has an Interest which may come into discussion in the approaching Negotiation with the United States of America and which are most respectfully submitted to the consideration of His Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary

. . . The Americans seem to aim at Establishments in trade beyond the Rocky Mountains, and on the River Columbia to which they have no pretensions by Discovery either by Water or Land, the right in both cases clearly belonging to Great Britain by the discoveries of Cook, Vancouver, and Mackenzie. No establishment of the States on that River or on the Coast of the Pacific should therefore be sanctioned. . . .

Montreal 30th September 1809

[Endorsed:], No. 2 Sept. 1809 Copy Minute transmitted by the Committee of Trade at Montreal thro' Sir James Craig to Mr. Jackson his Majesty's Minister in the United States.

## II

[*Q Series, volume 113, pages 228-30*]

Montreal 23d January 1810

To

Messrs McTavish Fraser & Co

Inglis Ellice & Co.

Sir Alexander Mackenzie

Gentlemen

We now address you on a subject of some importance, and which in the present uncertain state of things generally, you may think illtimed. We should be inclined to this Opinion did not a particular circumstance, about to take place render it necessary that some steps should, without loss of time, be taken, for ascertaining the rights and claims of Great Britain to the Columbia River and North West Coast of America, which is also connected, in this instance, with the Interests of the North West Company.

Since the Expedition of Captain Lewis across the Rocky Mountains from the Head waters of the Missourie to the Columbia, the Government and Citizens of the United States have been in the Habit of considering that River and Coasts adjacent, as belonging to their Country, either as forming part of Louisiana, or in right of the Expedition conducted by Captain Lewis—Neither of these pretensions, we presume, will be considered of any Validity. Vancouver's Survey of that Coast and Sir Alexander Mackenzie's Expedition from the Peace River to the Pacific, surely, give a prior right to our discovery of these Countries: their Claim, therefore, must rest on its forming a part of Louisiana, which, if possible, is still more preposterous. With respect to possession, that also is in our favor, for the posts of the North West Company are, and have been for several years, established on the Waters which fall into the Columbia, or on the Branches of that River.

Notwithstanding, we are well informed that an Expedition for the purpose of making establishments in the Columbia River, and the North West Coast, is now in contemplation, and to sail from New York early next Spring, and perhaps a Similar one from Boston. The Merchants

from the latter City have long traded between the North West Coast of America and China; but have never attempted establishing themselves. It is now time to ascertain whether the British Government will permit these establishments on what has hitherto been considered British Territory, and whether they will continue to prohibit British Subjects, from carrying on a trade between China, and the North West Coast, which Aliens are allowed to enjoy unmolested. We should hope not, and that the Honorable East India Company, will not on this occasion, refuse their indulgence, on what depends on them.

The importance of the Subject will no doubt strike you in the same Light as it does us, & we request you to make such Application to Government on the part of the North West Company at large, as in your judgment may be most likely to succeed. On a former occasion we were led to hope for Assistance, provided we undertook to make Establishments on the Columbia. We trust that Government, on the present occasion, will not shew less liberality, for the Expence on the Outset, will be considerable and it being partly a national Object, it would be but reasonable that some remuneration was kept in view, either in a pecuniary way, or by an exclusive right of trade, to the Columbia River and adjacent Coast, for a certain Term of years from our making the first Establishment, either from the interior of the North West Country or by Sea.

It would be highly necessary that we were informed next Spring of the intentions of the Government in this respect in order to take the proper measures at our place of Rendezvous on Lake Superior, next Summer; otherways a years time will be lost, and the Emergency Requires, that immediate measures should be adopted.

We are most respectfully,

Gentlemen

Your most obedient Servants,

[Signed]	{	McTAVISH MCGILLIVRAYS & Co.	}	Agents
		JOHN OGILVY		North West
		THOMAS THAIN	}	Company.

[Endorsed:] No. 1  
Copy Letter dated Montreal  
23 January 1810

## III

[*Q Series, volume 113, pages 224-7*]

Chapel Place, Duke Street  
Westminster, 2d April 1810

My Lord,

The Committee of British Merchants interested in the Trade and Fisheries of His Majesty's North American Colonies, venture, most respectfully, to submit the following Observations on the present state of those Colonies, and their relations with the United States, and on the conduct of the latter, to the consideration of your Lordship.

In the first place, they beg leave to refer to the Copy of the Minute annexed, No. 2, which was transmitted by the Committee of Trade at Montreal, to Mr. Jackson His Majesty's Minister to the United States, in September last, but which was written under an impression that the first ten Articles of the Treaty of 1794 were still in force, for in the Report which was made on the Memorial from Canada, transmitted in June last by Sir James Craig, to Lord Viscount Castlereagh and referred by his Lordship to the Board of Trade, it is understood such an opinion was therein expressed, though subsequently, the Committee of British Merchants have been informed, that these Articles of the Treaty of 1794 had ceased to have effect, on the termination of that Treaty, by effluxion of time, and that certain Acts of the Legislature have been passed under that impression.

The Committee of British Merchants are induced to intrude on your Lordship's attention, in consequence of the information they received by last packet, of two Expeditions being in contemplation to sail from New York and Boston, early this spring, for the purpose of establishing Settlements on the Columbia<sup>1</sup> or Origan or Catouche Sepee River and other parts of the North West Coast of America, which have hitherto been considered to belong to Great Britain; and to represent to your Lordship the anxiety, in that respect, of His Majesty's Subjects resident at Montreal who are engaged in the Indian or Fur Trade and have formed large and extensive Establishments there for that purpose.

The Committee do not presume to offer in detail any observations on this subject, but only to refer your Lordship to the Letter annexed

<sup>1</sup>At this point the following marginal note is inserted: "The Islands of St. Pierre & Miquelon shod. never be restored to France. This remark is not in the original Letter. The resumption of these Islands is looked to most anxiously by the United States & France & were agreed to be restored by Lord Malmesbury tho' they are in some measure the Key to the Entrance of the St. Lawrence. In the Treaty made a few Years ago betn. the United States & France they guaranteed to each other the Islands they might possess in the Gulf of St. Lawrence tho' at that moment they had none—N.A."

No. 1, and to those parts of the Minute No. 2 which relate to it: though it may not be improper for them to state, they are apprehensive that, unless His Majesty's Right to the Columbia River, and the North West Coast of America, is acknowledged, and adequate protection is afforded to His Majesty's Subjects engaged in the Indian Trade, namely, The North West Company, the Michilimakinac Company, and others concerned in the Fur trade, they must abandon the Trade altogether, from the exactions of the Officers of the United States and the serious obstacles created by them, especially since the purchase of Louisiana by the United States.<sup>2</sup>

The Committee being anxious to communicate by the next packet, to their correspondents at Montreal, and in other parts of Canada, the Sentiments of His Majesty's Government on this important subject, most respectfully entreat your Lordship to condescend to honor them with an interview and they flatter themselves, that previous to any Negotiations with the Government of the United States, an opportunity will be afforded them to state to your Lordship their observations on the other points mentioned in the Minute to Mr. Jackson and the arrangements which may be necessary to be made in the course of such Negotiation, for the protection of British Interests on that Continent not only with respect to the Boundaries of the King's Colonies, but also the Encroachments of American Citizens on the British Territories the Right claimed by the United States to certain Islands in Passamaquiddy Bay to fish on the Coasts of the King's Colonies;<sup>3</sup> in the Gulf of St. Lawrence; and on the Coast of Labrador and on other subjects of a local nature: And the Committee avail themselves of this communication most humbly to submit to the consideration of His Majesty's Government that it does not appear to them to be essential to British Interest that there should be any Commercial Treaty with the United States, but that the Trade between the two Countries should be carried on in future upon the same principles under similar Regulations and subject to the same duties as the Trade between Great Britain and all other Nations.

The Committee trust your Lordship will consider it important that some Measures should be immediately adopted to support and maintain

<sup>2</sup>In support of this statement was included a letter dated New York, Feb. 17, 1810, from John Richardson of Montreal to Thomas Forsyth, London. Richardson was in New York for the purpose of selling the Michilimackinac Company to Astor. "To this measure nothing but dire necessity would induce me to consent, but it seems to be evident under the present circumstances, that unless something of the kind can be effected, utter Ruin to the property invested in that concern must be the consequence."

<sup>3</sup>The following marginal note is included at this point: "See Arrowsmith's last map of North America between Lat. 45 & 55. Also Mackenzie's Journal p. 410 et seq.—Ibid p. 343 et seqt."

His Majesty's Right to the possession of the Territory discovered by Captains Cook and Vancouver and since traversed for Commercial Purposes by Sir Alexander Mackenzie on the North West Coast of America previous to any Establishments being made thereon by the Citizens of the United States as before mentioned.

I am

&c. &c.

[Signed] N. ATCHESON,  
Secy.

To the Right Honble  
The Marquis Wellesley

[Endorsed:] 2d April 1810 Copy Letter to the Marquis Wellesley respecting the North West Coast of America & the Conduct of the United States from the British North American Committee

#### IV

[*Q Series, volume 113, page 244*]

Duke Street Wesmr.

28 June 1810

My Lord,

I had the honour to address your Lordship on the 2d of last April by order of the Committee of British Merchants interested in the Trade &c. of His Majesty's North American Colonies most respectfully entreating Your Lordship to condescend to favor them with an interview on the subjects therein mentioned, and it being of the highest importance to their connexions in those Colonies that they should before the season is too far advanced be apprised of the Sentiments of His Majesty's Government thereon the Committee flatter themselves your Lordship will not consider them too presuming in requesting to see them on the points mentioned in that Letter.

I am, My Lord, with great respect

Your Lordship's

Most faithful & Obedt. Servt.

(Signed) N. ATCHESON,  
Secy.

To the Right Honble  
The Marquis Wellesley  
&c. &c.

[Endorsed:] 28 June 1810  
Copy Letter to the Marquis Wellesley



## V

[*Q Series, volume 113, pages 221-3*]

Nov. 10, 1810

Suffolk Lane

Cannon St.

My Lord:

As Acting Partner in the Mercantile House representing the Northwest Company of Canada, and consequently feeling a deep Interest in the result of a recent application to His Majesty's Government on behalf of that concern, I take the Liberty of Submitting to your Lordship the inclosed Copies of Letters and Documents which have been transmitted to the Most Honble the Marquis Wellesley from the Committee of British Merchants interested in the Trade & Fisheries of His Majestys North American Colonies, by their Secretary Mr. Atcheson.

The subject of these Papers (namely the fitting out of an Expedition from New York to establish Settlements upon the Columbia River) was mentioned to your Lordship in March last by a Deputation of the Committee when I had the honor of being present, and it appeared to be considered by your Lordship as Entitled to some attention.

It was however considered to belong more particularly to the foreign Department of His Majestys Government, and consequently the Official Application of the Committee was made to the Marquis Wellesley on the 2nd of April last; but his Lordship has not condescended to give any Answer to that Application, or to Mr. Atchesons subsequent letter of the 28th June repeating our Most respectful intreaty to be admitted to the honor of an Interview on the subject, or favored with some communication of the sentiments of His Majestys Government thereon.

I have now to inform your Lordship that the American expedition to the Columbia River has actually sailed from New York, and consequently I fear it may almost be too late to accomplish the object which the Northwest Company had in view, if they could have obtained the Sanction of His Majesty's Government in sufficient time. That object was to establish Settlements on the Columbia River, and so to secure the right of Possession to Great Britain before the arrival of the Americans.

Still however this object might probably be accomplished and His Majestys right to the Territorial possession of the Northwest Coast of America preserved, if one of His Majesty's Ships could immediately be dispatched to take formal possession of and establish a Fort or Settlement in the Country. The American Ship is to make a trading Voyage on

her way along the Coast of South America, and His Majesty's Ship would probably get to the Columbia River before her.

I trust your Lordship will consider the Object to be one of great importance, for it may and probably will involve the ultimate right of Possession of the whole Northwest Coast of America. I therefore presume most respectfully to solicit your Lordship's attention to it, and I am induced to intrude upon your Lordship at this particular time as the matter, if deemed worthy of any Attention, does not admit of delay, and the interval before the meeting of Parliament may afford His Majesty's Government time to take it into Consideration.

If the Plan which I have presumed to suggest should be adopted, and one of His Majesty's Ships sent to take possession of the Country in Question the Northwest Compy would send an Expedition across the Continent to meet her, and to form trading Establishments under the protection of His Majesty's Fort; but unless they can obtain such protection, they cannot embark in their intended undertaking, and that Country and its Trade will be left to the possession of the Americans.

It is therefore of the highest importance to the Northwest Company to be Apprized of the Sentiments of His Majesty's Government, and on behalf of that concern I humbly Solicit the honor of an Interview with or some Communication from your Lordship on the Subject.

I have the honor to be with great respect

My Lord

Your Lordships

Most obedient &

Most humble Servant

SIMON MCGILLIVRAY,

of the House of

McTavish, Fraser & Co.

To

The Right Honorable

The Earl of Liverpool

&c.—&c.—&c.—

## GRADUATE THESES IN CANADIAN HISTORY, AND RELATED SUBJECTS

The CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW presents herewith its tenth annual list of graduate theses which are in course of preparation or have recently been completed. Included in the list are titles not only in Canadian history but also in such related subjects as Canada's imperial and external relations, Canadian economics, law, and geography. Also there have been included some historical titles which bear indirectly rather than directly on Canadian history, but which may be useful to readers who consult the list.

We wish to express our appreciation of the generous co-operation which we have received from over a hundred universities throughout the British Commonwealth, the United States, France, Germany, and Canada, in the compilation of this information. Mistakes or omissions which are drawn to our attention will be mentioned in the "Notes and comments" section in a later issue.

## THESES FOR THE DOCTOR'S DEGREE

- CHARLES ARTHUR ANNIS, B. Com. Toronto 1930; A.M. Cornell 1933. A study of the Canadian tariff. *Cornell* (presented June, 1936).  
 ELIZABETH H. ARMSTRONG, A.B. Barnard 1920; A.M. Columbia 1923. French Canadian Nationalism. *Columbia* (completed).  
 R. C. BAKER, A.B. Harvard 1926; A.M. Cornell 1927. Roosevelt and the tariff. *Columbia*.  
 R. W. BARNWELL, A.B. South Carolina 1926; A.M. 1928. The loyalists of South Carolina. *Duke*.  
 N. H. BAXTER, A.B. Butler 1922; A.M. Chicago 1927. Laurier's influence in British imperial relations. *Iowa*.  
 JOSAPHAT BENOIT, L'âme franco-américaine. *Paris*.  
 IRENE MARY BISS, B.A. Cambridge 1928; M.A. Bryn Mawr 1929. The history of the development of electrical power in Canada. *Toronto*.  
 W. G. BLACK, B.A. British Columbia 1922; A.M. Chicago 1926. Trends of development in teacher-training in British Columbia. *Chicago*.  
 LALLA R. BOONE, A.B. Texas 1917; A.M. California 1922. Captain George Vancouver on the Northwest Coast. *California*.  
 W. R. BRIDGWATER, A.B. Rice Institute 1928; A.M. 1930. The American Fur Company. *Yale*.  
 GEORGE EDWIN BRITNELL, B.A. Saskatchewan 1929; M.A. Toronto 1934. Standards of living in the agricultural communities of Saskatchewan. *Toronto*.  
 L. V. H. BROCK, S.B. Waynesburg 1928; A.M. Michigan 1932. The currency question in relation to the American revolution, 1750-1775. *Michigan*.  
 F. W. BURTON, B.A. Toronto 1930; A.M. Harvard 1934. The grain trade of Canada, 1783 onward, especially the technology and geography of production. *Toronto*.  
 HELEN B. BURTON, A.B. Wisconsin 1927; A.M. 1928. Joseph Chamberlain as colonial secretary. *Wisconsin*.  
 G. F. BUTLER, B.A. Dalhousie 1933; M.A. 1934. Commercial relations between the United States and the Maritime Provinces. *Toronto*.  
 N. W. CALDWELL, Ed.B. Southern Illinois State Normal University 1931; A.M. Illinois 1934. The French in the west, 1740-1750. *Illinois*.  
 JOHN DUNCAN CAMERON, B.A. Manitoba 1909; M.A. Toronto 1935. The law relating to immigration, 1867-1935. *Toronto* (Law).  
 M. da S. S. CARDOZO, A.B. Stanford 1931; A.M. 1934. Earliest Portuguese voyages to America. *Stanford*.

- GWENDOLEN M. CARTER, B.A. Toronto 1929; B.A. Oxford 1931; M.A. 1935; A.M. Radcliffe 1936. The policy of the British dominions in the league in regard to disarmament and security. *Radcliffe*.
- WILLIAM AMBROSE CARTER, A.B. Dartmouth 1920; A.M. Missouri 1928. The Canadian treatment of the trust problem. *Princeton*.
- LAUREN W. CASADAY, A.B. California at Los Angeles 1927. Labor problems of the salmon canning industry of the Pacific coast. *California*.
- SAMUEL DELBERT CLARK, B. A. Saskatchewan 1930; M.A. McGill 1935. A study of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association with special reference to its role in development of a Canadian national consciousness. *Toronto*.
- JOHN KNIGHT COCHRAN, A.B. Wisconsin 1931; A.M. 1932. Sir Arthur Gordon, first Lord Stanmore, as colonial governor. *Wisconsin*.
- J. I. COOPER, B.A. Western Ontario 1930; M.A. 1933. French-Canadian Conservatism in principle and practice, 1873-1896. *McGill*.
- JOHN H. COX, A. B. Oregon 1930; A.M. 1932. History of the lumber industry in the Pacific Northwest, 1900-1914. *California*.
- J. C. CRIGHTON, jr., A.B. Lynchburg 1925; A.M. Columbia 1930. The British Dominions at the Paris peace conference. *Columbia*.
- C. W. CROWELL, A.B. River Falls 1930; A.M. Iowa 1933. Edward Randolph, a royal official in the colonial service, 1675-1703. *Iowa*.
- JOHN T. CULLITON, B.A. Saskatchewan 1926; M.A. McGill 1927. Economic basis of western Canada. *McGill* (to be presented in 1937).
- C. H. CURTIS, B.A. Queen's 1933; M.A. 1934. The Canadian national debts since confederation. *Chicago*.
- MARJORIE DANIEL, A.B. Agnes Scott 1931; A.M. Chicago 1932; Ph.D. 1935. The revolutionary movement in Georgia, 1763-1777. *Chicago*.
- F. O. DARVAL, B.A. London 1926; B.A. Reading (England) 1928. Public opinion and war, with special reference to the war of 1812. *Columbia*.
- DONALD DAVIDSON, B.A. British Columbia 1933. The British fur traders on the Pacific slope, 1793-1846. *California*.
- H. M. DAVIS, jr., A. B. Bowdoin 1930; A.M. Harvard 1932. History of colonial costume in the English colonies of America, 1607-1776. *Harvard*.
- DANIEL B. DELOACH, S.B. Oregon State Agricultural College 1927; A.M. California 1932; Ph.D. 1935. The salmon canning industry with particular reference to marketing. *California*.
- R. O. DEMOND, A.B., A.M. Syracuse. The loyalists of North Carolina. *Duke*.
- A. G. DEWEY, B.A. McGill 1911; M.A. 1913. The dominions and diplomacy. *Columbia* (completed).
- JESSE S. DOUGLAS, A.B. Oregon 1931; A.M. 1932. Military posts in the Oregon territory, 1846-1898. *Minnesota*.
- PHILIP DRUCKER, A.B. California 1932. Historical aspects of Northwest Coast culture. *California*.
- F. E. DYKEMA, A.B. Hope 1933; A.M. Michigan 1934. The rivalry among France, England, and the Dutch republic for the possession of the Hudson valley. *Michigan*.
- W. T. J. EASTERBROOK, B.A. Manitoba 1933; M.A. Toronto 1935. Agricultural credit in Canada. *Toronto*.
- MAX EICHMEIER. Die kanadische Prärielandschaft und ihre Entwicklung. *München* (Phil. Diss., v. 18, Juli, 1933).
- W. H. ELKINS. British policy in its relations to the commerce and navigation of the United States of America from 1794 to 1807. *Oxford*.
- R. H. FISHER, A.B. California 1929; A.M. 1932. The origins and development of the Russian fur trade, with special attention to Siberia. *California*.
- JEROME CLARENCE FITZGERALD, B.A. Toronto 1917. Problems in Canadian administrative law. *Toronto* (Law).
- A. R. FOLEY, A.B. Dartmouth 1920; A.M. Wisconsin 1924. The French-Canadian invasion of New England. *Harvard*.
- EUGENE FORSEY, B.A. McGill 1925; M.A. 1926; B.A. Oxford 1928; M.A. 1932. Distribution of national income in Canada, 1926-35. *McGill* (to be presented in 1937).
- JOAN M. FOSTER, B.A. McGill 1923; M.A. 1925; B.A. Oxford 1927; M.A. 1931. Reciprocity in Canadian politics from the commercial union movement to 1911. *Bryn Mawr*.

- VERNON CLIFFORD FOWKE, B.A. Saskatchewan 1928; M.A. 1929. The control of wheat prices in Canada. *Washington*.
- LILLIAN F. GATES, B.A. British Columbia 1924; A.M. Clark 1926; A.M. Radcliffe 1930. Canadian land policy, 1837-1867. *Radcliffe*.
- G. D. GIBSON, A.B. California (L.A.) 1934; A.M. 1935. Jesuit educational foundations in New France. *California*.
- J. A. GIBSON, B.A. Oxford 1934; B.Litt. 1935. The life of Sir Edmund Walker Head. *Oxford*.
- E. C. GOULD, B.A. Toronto 1933; M.A. 1934. The influence of the United States in the confederation of Canada. *Toronto*.
- PAUL-HENRI GUIMONT, B.A. Séminaire de Québec 1927; "Science de Sciences commerciales", École des Hautes Études commerciales, 1930. Canadian tariffs. *Harvard*.
- L. A. HARPER, A.B. California 1922; A.M. 1924. The enforcement of the navigation acts in England and America, 1660-1696. *Columbia*.
- E. G. HAVENS, S.B. Purdue 1932; A.M. Harvard 1934. The administration of Sir James Craig in Canada. *Minnesota*.
- M. J. HEWITT. The West Indies in the American revolution. *Oxford*.
- LEORA HOPKINS, A.B. Illinois 1931. Massachusetts in the seven years' war. *Illinois*.
- G. T. HUNT, A.B. Peru State Teachers College (Neb.) 1927; A.M. Nebraska 1932; Ph.D. Wisconsin 1935. The inter-tribal relations of the great lakes Indian tribes, 1609-1684. *Wisconsin*.
- AUSTIN E. HUTCHESON, A.B. Reed 1925; A.M. California 1929. Eighteenth-century Nova Scotia, social and economic. *Pennsylvania*.
- D. IDLE, A.B. Michigan 1925; A.M. 1926. The post of St. Joseph, 1680-1760. *Illinois*.
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## REVIEW ARTICLE

### ANNUAL SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE OF CONSTITUTIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE LAW\*

TO Professor Keith we are once more under deep obligations, both as author and as editor. In his *The governments of the British Empire* he has provided an excellent volume for the general student of the subject, while the constitutional lawyer and the professional historian cannot afford to neglect it. Within remarkably reasonable compass he has given us a view of the domestic, inter-imperial, and international law of the empire, which is a model of succinct and careful writing, informed by his usual insight and scholarship. Sober almost to the point of coldness, impersonal in the highest degree, accurate in the broadest sense, the book ought to receive a wide and generous welcome. Its organization is first-class, considering that it deals with such a variety of jurisdictions. From equal nations in no sense subordinate to one another in any aspect of their internal or external affairs, the survey passes down through every grade and type of constitutional organization, with wise and intimate chapters on India and the mandates. The first part reviews the whole frame-work of constitutional law and custom: the legal structure of the empire, the difficult and unsolved problems relating to foreign affairs and policy, inter-imperial co-operation in its international aspects, the tremendous issues in connexion with the native races, the rule of law, and the rights and obligations of citizens. Here more than anywhere else come into relief complicated situations built on a legal "system" and arising out of it, which is obviously subject to increasing and almost terrific strain. The second part deals in a brilliant manner with the constitutional law and conventions of the various jurisdictions, presenting the leading features of each in a broad and suggestive manner. We may find a mistaken emphasis here and there, but the general view is one of sound scholarship, while there is no attempt to brush aside problems or to shirk difficulties which must cause grave domestic concern. The whole volume is singularly comprehensive, and page after page bears witness to great constructive accomplishments. Throughout, too, there is a note of optimism and hope, qualified in places with a becoming sense of fear, and calm but impressive misgivings about the future. These misgivings are more evident in the preface (which the student should read last), written after the book was completed. Here are references to judicial decisions, to declarations by statesmen and men of affairs, to legislative changes, to international situations which disclose, more emphatically than anything in the text, the vast weight of social complications and of moral obligations built on countless compromises and anomalies. Here, too, are wise words on the first two cases on the Statute of Westminster.<sup>1</sup> Of the Canadian case I have written elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> and it would be improper to refer to it in detail,

\*See bibliography, pp. 330-1.

<sup>1</sup>*British Coal Corporation v. The King*, 51 T.L.R. 508; *Moore and Others v. Attorney-General for Irish Free State*, 51 T.L.R. 504.

<sup>2</sup>*Canadian bar review*, XIII, 621 ff.

especially as my approach to the Statute of Westminster was referred to in the argument and accepted by the judicial committee.<sup>3</sup> It is sufficient, however, to draw the attention of historians to this case since they will find in it important light on the history of judicial appeals and on the royal prerogative. The Irish case is almost of greater interest as it discloses something of historical irony. When the Anglo-Irish treaty was signed, the Free State, in spite of British opposition, considered it an international obligation and finally registered it as a treaty with the league of nations, while the government of the United Kingdom saw it merely as part of a statute enacted at Westminster.<sup>4</sup> The judicial committee has now taken that view, with the result, in the light of the Statute of Westminster, that it would appear that the Anglo-Irish treaty is, in effect, entirely under the control of the Free State. The whole judgment is worthy of serious study in its historical setting, and its phraseology demands close scrutiny.<sup>5</sup> At any rate, it may well be that the government of the United Kingdom may, in some degree, regret its original rigid legal approach to the status of the Anglo-Irish treaty. The format of the book is excellent, and a first-class index constitutes an admirable guide amid the complicated mazes of history and of law. Students of Professor Keith's treatises will observe in them the development of an acute mind and its increasing insight into the social significance of subjects of which he is the acknowledged master. While the book is almost entirely impersonal, yet a comparative study of his works will disclose a growing understanding and appreciation of the fact that the imperial system lives in a flux of varieties, which refuse to allow the real objective scholar to tarry in the past.

This growth is nowhere better illustrated than in the author's *Letters on imperial relations* where the personal element is in the ascendant, and the progress in thought, criticism, and insight is self-evident. In a series of letters to the press extending over the years 1916 to 1935, we can watch, almost with fascination, how the author has advanced in comprehension. There is no attempt made to edit the letters, which begin as it were in the realms of legal dogma and end in a belief in a cohesion and unity which transcend law. In addition, they are almost uncanny in places in their foretelling of a future which is now a past. We are able to study Professor Keith's immediate response to actual situations as they arose; and, written for the public at large, the book possesses a frankness and a candour which must command respectful attention. Most important are those letters which deal with inter-imperial relations. The office of governor-general, if equality is to be made a reasonable reality, would appear to require a general extension of powers; the recent legislation in South Africa, in which the status of that dominion is defined, and to which the king gave personal assent,<sup>6</sup> seems to disclose a lack of comprehension of international implications; there is a fissiparous drift in inter-imperial documents which may not have been entirely intended, with serious consequences in some

<sup>3</sup>*Essays in constitutional law* (Oxford, 1934), 161 ff.

<sup>4</sup>A. Berriedale Keith (ed.), *Speeches and documents on the British dominions, 1918-1931* (Oxford, 1931), 347-8.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. A. Berriedale Keith in *Journal of comparative legislation*, ser. 3, XVII, 272-3.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. W. P. M. Kennedy in *University of Toronto law journal*, I, 1935, 147 ff.

parts of the empire; policy is one thing, its expression another; there may be hope to win cohesion from the Irish Free State, and even a republic within the empire is not beyond the imagination of statesmen if only Great Britain is wise in its ministerial dealings; there are issues in India, not unconnected with imperial events elsewhere—such are some of the problems which colour pages perhaps without precedent in imperial literature. Certainly no series of letters ever before appearing in the press has been more worthy of preservation, constituting as it does a vital challenge to clear thinking.

To Professor Keith we are also indebted for a new edition of the second volume of Anson—the crown. He has been faced with the usual task—formidable to all editors—of making omissions and shortenings, of incorporating new material, and, most difficult of all, of so preserving text and manner as to prevent the criticism that an entirely new book had been written. Anson has always enjoyed favour among historians, for his approach was uniformly historical, and this Professor Keith has preserved. Here, perhaps, criticism might be directed to much that is doubtful in fact and in expression, for example in relation to feudalism, to the *curia regis*, or to the office of chancellor; and perhaps too much stress is laid on the remote past at the expense of more recent and living history. Anson's approach was that of many years ago, and, as a consequence, is somewhat out of date. It is here that an editor's problems have been most serious; and it would be possible, in a meticulous criticism, to point to statements and to the acceptance of historical interpretations to which, had he been writing a new book, he would not have committed himself. When, however, we come to fields in which the writer is an acknowledged expert, we are in a new atmosphere. The chapters on the dominions, on India, and on the dependant empire are first-class; although we very much doubt the wisdom of including those on the dominions in a subsequent edition. Finally, the historian can observe history in the making as he reads the newer chapters on the crown and the subject, on the rule of law, and above all on the growth of delegated powers—a division of constitutional law in which there is much obscure historical thinking and much obscurantist legal criticism. For the lawyer these chapters are perhaps too compressed. For the historian, however, they are full of suggestion. On the whole, the editorial work is at its best brilliant, and only a desire to preserve too much of Anson's statements and manner has robbed it of the highest achievement. The index is a comprehensive and valuable aid to the scholar, student, and lawyer. The whole work is singularly objective; and once more the *Letters on imperial relations* constitutes a necessary companion volume.

The literature connected with special parts of the empire includes important and suggestive material. To Dr. Maurice Ollivier we owe a debt for two admirable studies on the Canadian constitution—past and future. In the former connexion the historical development is traced with skill, with a fine sense of the value of historical material, and with that singular charm which French-Canadians seem so eminently to possess in presenting the well-known history, and in galvanizing into fresh life documents which are the common possession of all historical scholars. In addi-

tion, the discussion of the Statute of Westminster is perhaps up to the present the most admirable available. The author writes not only as a lawyer with a thorough historical training, but as an intimate student of social life. More interesting still is his discussion of the constitutional future of Canada. He submits the judgments of the judicial committee of the privy council to acute analysis, brushing aside, in the manner of Mr. Lapointe,<sup>7</sup> the conception that they constitute either a bond of empire or a protection for minorities. He then proceeds to examine the position in relation to constituent powers, with a clear-cut and unequivocal perception of the necessity for the provision in Canada for constituent changes. Here the author walks with discretion, with sobriety and balanced judgment. He realizes that Canada is a federation—a union, not a unity, based, as are all federations, on compromises, with minority, racial, religious, and linguistic guarantees. At the same time, in refusing to complicate the situation by accepting the entirely unhistorical and legal idea that federation was a treaty or contract, he sees national issues, and thus lifts the entire subject to the dignity and importance which it ought to command. It has been a pleasure to read these two studies, which should appeal to every citizen who is not obsessed with doctrine. We may not be prepared to accept the author's conception that the status of Canada is that of a "personal union"; but we can afford to neglect some special pleading in the light of suggestive, learned, and constructive proposals. It is unfortunate that such admirable volumes should be published without indexes.

In connexion with Dr. Ollivier's studies students may well consult the evidence given before the special committee of the house of commons on the British North America Act. It would obviously be quite improper for me to say more, but there is material for serious thought. Equally important is the short study by Mr. I. A. Humphries, representing as it does proposals submitted, as a basis for discussion, on behalf of Ontario, to the dominion-provincial conference held at Ottawa in December, 1935. Here again I am under difficulties, as the proposals are an elaboration of those submitted by me and of my evidence already referred to. I must, however, amid much that is highly constructive and liberal-minded, disassociate myself from any support to a proposal that the content of the provincial legislative power over "property and civil rights" should be changed only with the concurrence of all the provinces. Much indeed could be gained from Mr. Humphries's suggestions as a whole, but the objection which I have made ought to be obvious if any national advance is to be made especially in relation to the social services which have to-day assumed a national importance. Nor can I accept the idea that section 132 of the British North America Act (the treaty section) should be changed with the approval of two-thirds of the legislature of the provinces. We shall get into deep waters if we confuse legislative and executive powers in such an extraordinary manner. For the present, and pending some grant of constituent powers, I have summed up, in the *Juridical review*, the situation as I see it; while Dean MacDonald has provided a learned and

<sup>7</sup>*Le Statut de Westminster et l'évolution nationale du Canada* (Montréal, 1932).



critical study of the variety of judicial processes through which the interpretation of the British North America Act has gone. Here the historian will see with ease that the drafting of a constitution is one thing—careful and exact as its fathers tried to be—and its interpretation another. Seldom have history and interpretation been more effectively divorced. In addition, those who note with hope that the judicial committee's more recent approach to the British North America Act seems to presage a return to history may well recall important words in Dr. O. D. Skelton's evidence:

Courts may modify, they cannot replace. They can revise earlier interpretations, as new arguments, new points of view are presented, they can shift the dividing line in marginal cases, but there are barriers they cannot pass, definite assignments of power they cannot reallocate. They can give a broadening construction of existing powers, but they cannot assign to one authority powers explicitly granted to another, or modify the provisions of the B.N.A. Act regarding the organization of the executive and legislative branches of the Dominion.<sup>8</sup>

Seldom has the judicial process, in interpreting the Canadian constitution, been more brilliantly stated; and, it may be added that even the margin which it allows for change ought not to be considered apart from the costs of litigation, the waste of legislative time, the hopes and fears, and the palpable injustice which appeals to the judicial committee perpetuate.

Two admirable volumes must appeal to any serious student of Irish history. That of Mr. Pakenham is a real contribution, based as it is on materials hitherto inaccessible, to the history of the preliminaries to the signature of the articles of agreement for a treaty between Great Britain and Ireland. In addition, there runs through it an invaluable commentary on the distracted Irish loyalties of 1921, which even to-day are in flux, with true peace and a genuine understanding as its purpose. The historian will find it a mine of new information, presented with clarity and distinction, while vivid episodes and character-sketches light up the history. There is, however, an obvious defect. We cannot finally evaluate the work until it is possible to consult Mr. Pakenham's originals and with them, those, if any such exist, representing the British side. As the study stands, we must move with caution and suspend judgment, especially in relation to those who claimed that a *de facto* republic was in existence—the position held to-day by Mr. de Valera's followers—and those who signed the treaty as a new beginning and apart at the moment from any idea of a republic, *de facto* or *de jure*. The truth is that in 1921 Irish loyalties had not begun to run in any defined channels, with distinct political fundamentals. Hence, in no small degree arise the omissions and commissions of the treaty, the subsequent civil war, and not a little of the present distress. On the other hand, the situation is not without hope, as both the nations, parties to the treaty, have disclosed in their history that they can seek peace after a storm. Here Mr. Pakenham's book is of special value. Its sincerity is obvious, despite subjective and objective limitations. To anyone connected with the negotiations of 1921, it comes as a ray of precious hope, especially when the author joins hands with Professor Keith in a splendid appeal for a permanent association of the Free State with Great Britain, what-

<sup>8</sup>Special committee on British North America Act, 24.

ever its political and legal form may be. He holds out the olive branch. Friendship is worth-while, however unfamiliar or novel its expression in words or in writing may be. It is better than embittered hostility, which, as the decades pass in a sorry world, may seek affiliations elsewhere than across St. George's channel.

The second book to which we have referred is Mr. Mansergh's study of the government and politics of the Irish Free State. It is an acute and critical account of the organization and administration of the country with not a few suggestions of its political and legal problems. The survey discloses a genuine effort to secure efficiency, with the result that the executive seems to have gained power at the expense of all the fundamentals so elaborately enunciated in, and so hopefully written into, the constitution of 1922. Indeed nationalism in the Free State, as elsewhere, brings with it economic and social problems, which seem to postulate, whether the community be agricultural, industrial, or mixed, an increasing weight of power in executive hands. For purposes of this review it is unnecessary to enter into details, but it is a pleasure to recommend a study in government so singularly objective and fully worthy of the serious consideration of all students of comparative institutions.

The new constitution of India forms the subject-matter of a careful and detailed study by Mr. J. P. Eddy and Mr. F. H. Lawton. This constitution is a great venture of political faith as well as a complicated legal experiment. History must be regarded, if the faith is to meet with any justification, or the legal experiment be adequately understood. The volume fills a very distinct place. The processes of constitutional development are traced with care, especially in connexion with the crown in British India. As for the new constitution, legal skill and analytical acumen combine in an excellent interpretation, and the student is provided with a first-class view of the federation, provincial autonomy, the franchise, the distribution of legislative powers, administrative relations, federal finance, federal railway authority, the judicature, the services of the crown, the secretary of state, transitional arrangements, and amendments to the act. Canadians will be specially attracted by comparisons here and there with Canada and Australia and with illustrations drawn from their law and custom, even though the meticulous legal critic might be inclined to find errors or mistaken emphasis in interpretation. The book will appeal to all those to whom the future of India is of importance. It ought, however, to be read in close connexion with Professor Keith's acute pages on British India, the India states, and Burma,<sup>9</sup> and with his forty-odd letters on the whole question of Indian constitutional reform. Professor Keith's points of view and criticisms are a necessary complement to the objective contribution which Mr. Eddy and Mr. Lawton have made to one of the most tremendous issues before the empire, if not before the world. It may indeed be that the crown may ultimately form the only bond of empire—a consideration elaborated with persuasion in Sir Richard Jebb's interesting little study. We can afford to neglect the shadows of antique conceptions, of outmoded approaches, even of possible errors

<sup>9</sup>*The governments of the British Empire*, 544 ff.

which appear to linger in his world of thought, if we have the hope that, in a distracted and disintegrating world, we may possess a centre of unity from which legal mechanics and political tradesmen may be excluded, with some reasonable assurance, as impertinent interlopers if not vulgar intruders.

The general literature this year is not very inspiring. Two foreign books possess some interest. Dr. Apelt's dissertation is an elaborate collection of facts and it bears witness once more to the increasing interest of foreign jurists and lawyers in the structure of the empire. It is admirably documented and the notes and bibliography show a wide acquaintance with the literature of the subject. On the other hand, the knowledge of the periodical literature is not quite as extensive as it might be and the same is true of the debates in the various legislatures. As a consequence, Dr. Apelt's theories of the empire and his views of inter-commonwealth relations are coloured by an approach through Irish and South African attitudes. Indeed, I have thought it well to consider Mr. Hoops's monograph in this connexion rather than with the literature of a particular dominion. A South African, who has worked in the South African consulate at Hamburg, he has given a succinct account of the status of South Africa, which will be of interest, as an interpretation, not only to foreign but to Anglo-Saxon readers, especially in connexion with the recent South African legislation.<sup>10</sup> However, the appeal which the book makes is self-evidently to Germans, and the tone throughout is strongly nationalistic.

Of the books in English, the quality is, on the whole, disappointing. Mr. Coatman's volume is announced as a philosophical study, and it has, from this point of view, undoubted enthusiasm, obscurity, and subjectivity. We may acknowledge at once its high idealism, its praiseworthy zeal, even its fine rhetoric, as the empire is taken up to a mountain top and transfigured before us. Here we see dimly economic and political bonds, emotional ties, the collective system, the present organization and machinery for co-operation and consultation, the international scene, and even prophetic glimpses of the future. When, however, we attempt once more to come down to earth, to ask what it all means, doubts of a serious nature arise, especially with Professor Keith's cold unemotional conclusions, in our minds. We miss the balance of well-informed objectivity. We come up sharp against sins of omission—though perhaps sin ought not once to be mentioned among philosophers. We were prepared for a fine adventure in thought, only to find that the lights which beat on the mountain top were stage-managed by a new imperial Newton. We wonder where all the fissiparous forces in the empire have disappeared to—political and social facts well worthy of the closest attention, even of a philosopher. We wonder whether the "white man's burden" is quite as "white" as his skin. We wonder where the newer imperialistic mercantalism is leading us, and we sigh somewhat longingly for the spirit of Burke or of Elgin. And still our wonder grew, until at length we realized that the book is in fact a brief for some form of institutionalizing the empire, that the mantle

<sup>10</sup>*University of Toronto law journal*, I, 1935, 147 ff.

of other prophets had fallen on the author—in philosophical renovation it is true, although we preferred the older obviousness. As it is, we are forced to ask ourselves two questions: is this type of thought still prevalent in the United Kingdom? has a school of propaganda once more arisen there? We may as well be quite frank and say that the future of the empire does not lie along the lines indicated; and if it ever does, in any respect, it will not come by argument, however obvious or however philosophically elusive.

Equally difficult to follow is Mr. Barnes's volume. It is announced as dealing with "the real thing", as boldly facing "the ethics of British imperialism". So we must heavily discount undoubted accomplishments, concentrate on abuses and proceed to a general indictment of imperialism; not indeed without hope in some future British socialism, where apparently the relative virtues and vices of imperial nations will be properly adjusted. There seems to be a kind of absolute standard in Mr. Barnes's scheme of values which is not "the real thing", and has no place in the "ethics" of any imperialism—British or otherwise. There are, however, interesting arguments in the book based on selected facts, and a good deal of practical criticism; and it should not be neglected because of its general tone. Our complaint is that this tone is extreme, that there is too much protesting, too much clamour. The author, in the end, seems to see visions fairer than his general thesis, and to find some hope in more profound aspirations for human freedom. On the other hand, it is well to remember that realism—however much more comprehensive and understanding it may be than the author's—is an unsafe guide in politics and that the deeper things transcend it. The book, uneven and unsatisfactory though it is, has an undoubted value. It may well prove a discipline for the unadulterated imperialist, and for the saner citizen it will at least provide lessons from history—if such indeed there be.

Much more important is Mr. Leake's treatise, the title of which is singularly liable to deceive. It is not a discourse on a threadbare subject, but is a technical work by an experienced and well-known expert on the future of agriculture in England and on the real meaning of "trusteeship as applied to agricultural production in the tropical, and more particularly the African colonies". Perhaps, indeed, the book is too technical for our purposes; but in the light of present-day attempts at an imperial economy, it is well for historians to keep in mind the problems with which it deals. Agriculture in England is in a precarious state with the growth of individual ownership and the lack of capital. Costs are more vital than prices, and Dr. Leake suggests the necessity for definite stimulus from the state through bringing into being strong financial corporations, which might, in some degree, take the place of the fast-disappearing landlords. As the governments of the United Kingdom seem to have agreed on some definite stimulus to English agriculture, Dr. Leake's arguments are not only of interest in themselves as the carefully-argued opinions of an expert, but are also of importance to an exporting agricultural community like Canada. With regard to the tropical and African colonies, it is specially interesting to find their future discussed in terms of economic and not of political development which is advancing, under skilled ad-

ministration, too fast for the economic progress. Native agriculture is still too unorganized for export purposes in a highly-organized competitive world; and "trusteeship" is not entirely praiseworthy which aims to protect the natives from exploitation, while denying them organized means not merely to bear some of the costs of the administration but to reach a standard of living which the administrative services imply. Many of the essays in the book have appeared in technical journals. We welcome their appearance in more permanent form; and the book ought to receive serious and careful study. The index is entirely inadequate.

We have left to the last Mr. Amery's book, which, outside that by Dr. Leake, is the best of a mediocre lot. It begins with some shrewd observations on conferences, the league of nations, on the break-down of economic nationalism, and on the problem of freedom—whiggish in places, with an imperial glow, and a kind of superiority which is rather irritating and annoying. From this background the author proceeds to discuss the imperial idea and the Britannic commonwealth. He sees that imperial federation is a lost cause, which is so much to the good; but obviously he is extremely anxious for the creation of some permanent imperial machinery for co-operation without which he appears to believe that unity is in danger if not ultimately impossible. Frankly we think that all this is a vague dream. We have no fears of Downing street or of Westminster. What we do fear is the capacity which permanent political machinery always appears to possess of disclosing at times declarations, understandings, conventions, gentlemen's agreements, to which, in a crisis, our own statesmen may appeal as obligations of morality and of honour. It is far better to walk by faith and not by sight, trusting that the kingdom of heaven is within us. We miss, too, a note of practical common sense—so valued by Englishmen—in relation to the Irish Free State. It is absurd—after centuries of misgovernment and of the deprivation of political experience—to declare that for the present it may be left to "stew in its own juice", until the "peculiarly untractable Irish temperament" "the querulous pedantry of Mr. de Valera" disappear. The facetious might be inclined to write "English" for "Irish"; "Mr. J. H. Thomas" for "Mr. de Valera". However that may be, there appears a singular lack of "imperial" outlook, strangely out of keeping with Mr. Amery's repeated declarations in favour of American friendship. He appears to forget that the Irish question is a very real imperial question, especially for Canada, which has to live beside a nation, where the Irish vote is of such vital political importance. With regard to the question of a common foreign policy, we believe that the definite pursuit of that ideal is dangerous; and Mr. Amery, while gallantly following a gleam, recognizes fully the freedom of the dominions and sees that, if Great Britain continues to be mixed up in European situations, it cannot expect the unequivocal and automatic support of the dominions. We feel that it would be impertinent or at least impractical to pursue this point of view. There is, however, a good deal of challenging writing here. It is important to understand that the conception of a "common foreign policy" may have grave international complications, unless it is part, if it ever comes into being, of a greater ideal. This point was well presented, *inter alia*, at the Toronto conference

of 1933: "This latter consideration rules out any attempt at a unified Commonwealth foreign policy having as its aim the creation of a British *bloc*. This the world would look upon as an effort to create what in effect would be an offensive and defensive alliance and would inevitably tend to bring about other groupings, the ultimate result of which history makes clear."<sup>11</sup> On the whole, Mr. Amery's book is one to read. He writes with distinction and with conviction, with wide experience and with the courage to think. He says much with which we cannot agree; but he is not afraid to challenge, to attack; and, as a rule, he is courteous and restrained.

We have already welcomed the first volume of Professor H. A. Smith's important work.<sup>12</sup> It is a great pleasure to notice the second volume; and we hope, with the author, that funds will be available to continue a project which is of distinct value and importance. Once more the author is successful in presenting the attitudes of the governments of the United Kingdom on questions of international law and in disclosing something of practice and custom. Indeed, it is in the latter connexion that the special value of the volume lies, for custom is extremely important in international affairs, and it is of great interest to watch its study from the particular British points of view. It would, however, be a mistake to dismiss Professor Smith's work merely as a contribution to international law. The historical side is amply illustrated, and the book ought to make a special appeal to the historian, since each section has a preface in which the significance of the material is explained—material derived from official sources and held together by admirable commentaries. It is true that completeness is simply out of the question, but the selections given disclose a fine sense of legal and historical values, which enables us to follow with confidence matters of policy in relation to international law. Canadians will find of special interest the sections dealing with the Alaska dispute (1821-5), the Bering sea (1821-93), the Bay of Fundy, hot pursuit, the St. Lawrence (where it is interesting to note that British documents disclose that in the view of Great Britain the outbreak of the war of 1812 abrogated the Jay Treaty of 1794), and the Bering sea arbitration. We congratulate Professor Smith on this further evidence of successful accomplishment and no Canadian historian can afford to neglect a volume of such outstanding importance.

In conclusion, attention may be drawn briefly to two other publications. The first volume of the proceedings of the Australian and New Zealand Society of International Law deserves a sincere welcome and may well give rise to the question whether a similar society is not long overdue in Canada. It is of great importance to read discussions such as are included in the volume, for both the Pacific dominions represent attitudes and suggest situations with which Canadians are all too unfamiliar, if not indeed unsympathetic. Of special interest are the discussions of separate action by the British dominions in foreign affairs, the British dominions as mandatories, the position of consuls in Australia, and Australia and

<sup>11</sup>A. J. Toynbee (ed.), *British-Commonwealth relations: Proceedings of the first unofficial conference at Toronto, 11-21 September 1933* (Oxford, 1934), 36.

<sup>12</sup>CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XIV, 1933, 311.



the international labour conventions. This last subject has for Canadians a very real importance, seeing that Australia, like Canada, is a federation and Australia would seem to have followed the existing Canadian situation, although the distinguished author of the article—Professor K. H. Bailey—argues with considerable ability that “Australia is not a country to which the last paragraph of Article 405 of the Treaty of Versailles applies”. The entire volume deserves careful reading; and it is worth while to point out that the society has aims much more than professional. The increased status of the two dominions, their international economic interests, obligations, and responsibilities have brought to their citizens problems for the solution and discussion of which there have not been sufficient public training and an adequate and specific literature. To meet these general needs the society has undertaken generous obligations. If its future publications, its distinguished membership, and its present activities and zeal are maintained, it will have accomplished purposes which Canada may well envy.

Professor McNair's inaugural lecture on collective security ought to be welcomed at the present time. The author is one of the most outstanding exponents of the modern approach to international law, but in this lecture he addresses a lay audience. In clear and careful terms he compares the situation in relation to war at the beginning of this century and at the present time, and he is confident that there has been distinct progress. He makes clear what “collective security” is and what it is not. It is an attempt to collectivize, to denationalize force. It is not a pacifist movement and it does not eliminate the necessity for the use of force in certain circumstances. There is more practical common sense in these few suggestive pages than in much of the vast dissertations which have appeared of late. We recommend them to everyone who seeks clarity and wisdom.

W. P. M. KENNEDY

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Conference on Canadian-American Affairs held at the St. Lawrence University, Canton, New York, June 17-22, 1935, under the joint auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the St. Lawrence University, Queen's University.* Proceedings edited by WALTER W. McLAREN, ALBERT B. COREY, REGINALD G. TROTTER. Boston, New York, Montreal, London: Published for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace by Ginn and Company. 1936. Pp. xi, 301.

IN 1933 Professor A. B. Corey of St. Lawrence University suggested to Dr. J. T. Shotwell of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace that an informal conference on Canadian-American relations would be a useful means of promoting a better understanding of the two countries' mutual problems. The suggestion bore fruit in the conference at St. Lawrence University in June, 1935, which one of the speakers well described as "a sort of town meeting of the North American community discussing in the utter frankness which such an occasion permits and demands the varied points of view of those who came from different sections and from different political allegiances". There were almost 150 participants, from New York to North Dakota and from Nova Scotia to Saskatchewan. Although almost inevitably the academic group drawn from opposite sides of Lake Ontario predominated, the delegates included men prominent in the public life, government service, and commercial life of both countries. The agenda was carefully planned to include as many aspects as possible of Canadian-American contacts. Not only did such standard topics as the historical background (to which Professor Trotter contributed a useful paper), the contrasting forms of government upon which Dean McBain of Columbia and Professor Underhill of Toronto had some refreshingly sharp comments, and the tariff, that provoked the best discussion of all because of the provocative nature of Dr. Viner's opening paper, receive due consideration but also such problems as transportation, the movement of capital into Canada as "the fourteenth federal reserve district", the place of radio in modern society, and the function of the press in a democratic state, a topic that seemed to have really excited the whole group of journalists present.

The editors have admirably performed their task, and the record justifies Dr. Shotwell's belief that of all the international conferences in his experience "I have never been present at any when I felt more of the sense of realism of the problems before us and less of wishful thinking" (p. 280). One cannot but regret the presumably unavoidable omission of the address by Dr. André Siegfried which, as might be expected from so acute an observer, summed up the character of the conference.

The volume is well printed and indexed. On page 283 the editors have retained Mr. Dafoe's use of Lord Carnarvon's name when Lord Derby's was obviously intended.

F. H. SOWARD

*Maritime Trade of Western United States.* By ELIOT GRINNELL MEARS.  
California: Stanford University Press. Oxford University Press.  
1935. Pp. xvii, 538. (\$4.00)

To picture the trade of an area within a nation accurately is extremely difficult because of the lack of reliable statistical material and the weakness of the material actually available. One can hear the agonized wail of the statistician in Professor Mears's remark: "Statistics are valuable to the extent that they gauge short-time and long-time movements. Yet maritime developments become thereby unusually difficult to utilize because nowhere are they fitted into a composite system. For instance, in the United States, where the statistics are the most complete (and probably the best) to be found in any country, separate organizations publish figures covering presumably the same commodities which differ hopelessly, however, with respect to (1) the period involved, (2) the classification of sea 'trades', (3) the classification of commodities, and (4) the units. To illustrate, there are the confusion of fiscal year and calendar year, the definition of 'exports' and of 'foreign' commerce, the commodities included under textiles, and the failure to distinguish between the various tons (short, long, gross, net, and deadweight)." However, in spite of these difficulties, this work has achieved a most creditable performance.

The study is of particular interest to Canadians because of the similarity of conditions on the Pacific coast of Canada and the United States. The development of trade on the Pacific coast in the last two decades has been remarkable, and Mr. Mears's study indicates that considerable development is still possible even on the basis of present conditions. What future development might be, should the teeming millions of Asia materially improve their standards of living, can scarcely be imagined.

An extremely important factor in the development of trade on the Pacific coast has been the opening of the Panama canal. While this has been most important in its effect on the United States itself, it has materially altered world trade-routes. It is not merely that this route has made possible less costly intercoastal traffic, but it has actually led to the transportation of commodities from coast to coast which, because of their great bulk and low value, would have been impossible to transport economically by land. It has also made possible an increase in trade between the Pacific coast and European countries. That Pacific Canada benefited materially from the opening of this route is made evident by the rapid development of the ports of Vancouver and New Westminster in recent years. Trade with European countries has increased, and it is interesting to note that the development of shipping, particularly between the British Isles, Scandinavian countries, and the port of Vancouver, has also led to increase in the trade between Europe and the Pacific ports of the United States owing to the fact that many vessels calling at Vancouver also call for cargo at one or other of the American ports.

A characteristic of the Pacific coast trade which also applies to British Columbia is that the commodities exported are of low value in proportion to bulk as compared with the commodities imported. This has created a difficulty with regard to return cargoes, and has tended to increase the

cost of transportation. It is interesting to note in this connection that to meet this difficulty Captain Robert Dollar, a Canadian-born Scot, initiated the system of a round-the-world service so as to solve the problem of a return cargo by the direct route.

The shipping services to and from the ports on the Pacific coast are among the best in any part of the world, and on all important routes vessels are equipped with refrigerator service. Most of the vessels are of comparatively recent construction.

It is interesting to note that in spite of similarity of products in British Columbia and the Pacific coast states the coastal trade between the two areas is important. In volume British Columbia ranks among the three most important trade regions in the foreign commerce of the Pacific states. Commerce between the ports on the Pacific coast and Europe is not as important as trans-Pacific commerce, but the former is important as being practically a new traffic based on the opening of the Panama canal. Of great importance in this trade is the export of food-stuffs to the British Isles. Imports from the British Isles are comparatively small. The opening of the Panama canal has, however, decreased the dominance of trans-Pacific countries in the foreign trade of the Pacific states.

It is not possible to do more than skim the surface of this work in a short review. Trade with various countries is dealt with in considerable detail. Attention is also given to government policy and to the policy of shipping companies, especially in the matter of shipping conferences. Much valuable information is contained in statistical tables, and the reader who wishes to pursue the study in greater detail is supplied with an extensive list of references.

It is of interest to Canadians, and particularly to western Canadians, to note that Mr. Mears points out an unbalanced trade situation in the United States similar to that which exists in Canada. It is said, for example, "that every three cargo ships sailing to Europe with holds filled must divide among them, on the return trip, an amount of freight not large enough to fill to the load line even one of the three". It is pointed out that, while this disproportion is due to some extent to the character of the products moving in the two directions, this is not a complete explanation. The American tariff-rates are highest against the type of commodities produced in industrial Europe. "The tariff, then, clearly aggravates the unbalanced movement, and hampers exports not only by reducing the amount of reciprocal purchasing-power of the importing countries but also by necessitating freight rates on these exports high enough to finance return voyages in ballast." This would indicate in the Pacific states a condition similar to that which exists in British Columbia as disclosed in a study of "The barter terms of trade between British Columbia and eastern Canada", a brief account of which was published in the issue of November, 1935, of the *Canadian journal of economics and political science*.

W. A. CARROTHERS

*Terra Nova: The Northeast Coast of America before 1602: Annals of Vinland, Markland, Estotiland, Drogeo, Baccalaos and Norumbega.*

By CHARLES KNOWLES BOLTON. With illustrations by ETHEL STANWOOD BOLTON. Boston: F. W. Faxon. 1935. Pp. xiii, 194.

FROM the title one would expect an interesting account of the voyages of the Norsemen, Cabots, Corte-Reals, and other explorers but the reader will meet with disappointment. Mr. Bolton is no scholar, and does not, in fact, even read French. The result is a very poor compilation made up with rough and confused summaries of the voyages to these parts. One might have made allowance if the summaries had been clear, but their confusion is bewildering. In the case of the Norsemen the narrative occasionally takes the form merely of a catalogue of the possible identifications, say of Vinland (p. 33). The whole account of these voyages is much too long and, being open to all sorts of interpretations, gains nothing in clearness from Mr. Bolton's summary. One must really object also to the uncritical manner in which the same weight is given to a romance on the Norsemen by Maurice Hewlett as to the work of a specialist like Mr. G. M. Gathorne-Hardy. Too much space in any event has been allotted to these voyages which are very vague and have never been clearly identified.

The less said about the medieval voyages to America the better. As long ago as 1892 Paul Gaffarel clearly showed their unreliability and none of the French ones has been accepted as authentic by M. de La Roncière in his history of the French navy.<sup>1</sup> Even the Zeno voyages have been thoroughly discredited, but all these old wives' tales are brought once more to life in Mr. Bolton's book. Such a sentence, for instance, as "my own feeling is that the [fishing] industry [at Newfoundland] began before explorers of record visited the coast and long before reliable maps of the region were made" (p. 105) betrays a naïveté which is pathetic in its simplicity. The more improbable a fact, the greater its credibility for Mr. Bolton.

Scholars of to-day are fully agreed that the first authenticated voyage to the banks was that of John Cabot in 1497, the accounts of which describe so vividly the rich schools of cod. *Bacallao* is a Spanish not a Basque term and was evidently learned by Sebastian Cabot when serving in Spain: for his use of it comes from a later date. Mr. Bolton's attitude to this difficult problem of the Cabots is typified in the following note: "The whole vexed question of Cabot discoveries is discussed by Winsor in *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.* for November 1896, pp. 158-169. Every student since his day has had a fling at it—notably W. P. Winship"! (p. 123). The less said about Winsor's contribution the better, but at least Henri Harris's name might have been mentioned, although the book by Dr. Williamson is frequently cited. Where ignorance is bliss 't is folly to be wise, and this dictum might be applied here since Mr. Bolton has not even made a proper précis of most of the voyages, still less added anything new.

Had the author ever come across the late S. E. Dawson's *St. Lawrence basin*,<sup>2</sup> the first portion of which covers the same ground in a most scholarly

<sup>1</sup>Charles de La Roncière, *Histoire de la marine française* (Paris, 1899-1932).

<sup>2</sup>Samuel Edward Dawson, *The Saint Lawrence basin and its border-lands* (London, 1905).

manner, it is doubtful if Mr. Bolton would have deemed it worth while to put together this new compilation. Every voyage here described presents many knotty points and it is no easy matter even to make a more or less accurate précis thereof. Without some knowledge of the sources, this becomes more or less impossible. To revise long-discarded theories is to do the subject more harm than good.

On page 97 where Mr. Bolton does attempt a simple identification he goes completely astray: for this strait of St. Peter is certainly not that of Belle Isle but Cabot strait near the islands of St. Peter. His one "fling" therefore has not come off well, and had he followed Mr. Winship instead of Justin Winsor his book would have gained greatly.

In the appendix Mr. Bolton gives a list of "Several Persons who were reported to have been on the northeast coast before 1602" which consists of about 500 names! It is significant that Jean Alfonse's name is always spelt "Allefonsce" to conform evidently with that of Justin Winsor. Mr. Bolton mentions one new document on a voyage of Martin de Gayangus in 1580 which is a real find.

H. P. BIGGAR

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*The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts.*

With an introduction and notes by E. G. R. TAYLOR. Vols. I and II. (Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, second series, nos. LXXVI and LXXVII.) London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society. 1935. Pp. xiv, 210; xi, 211-516.

IN view of the wide reputation of Richard Hakluyt, and the many publications of the society which bears his name, it is surprising that so little has been published about the man himself, and that his chief original piece of writing, the *Discourse of western planting*, has not been more readily accessible. In her books on Tudor geography, Dr. Taylor did something to repair this neglect, and these two volumes go far to remove any such charge altogether. They also do justice to the work and memory of Richard Hakluyt the elder, the lawyer whose interest in cosmography and geographical discovery first inspired his more famous nephew.

The volumes, well printed for the Hakluyt Society, contain an admirable introduction (I, 1-66) sketching the career of both Hakluyts, recording the appearance of their successive writings and works, to the *opus majus* of the *Principal navigation*, and beyond. This is followed by over ninety documents, some score or so relating to the work of the elder Hakluyt, the remainder concerned with the activities of his greater nephew. The documents consist of letters to or from Hakluyt, extracts from state papers, epistles dedicatory and prefaces to Hakluyt's various works. They include Hakluyt's early pamphlet of 1580 *A discourse of the commodity of the taking of the straight of Magellanus* and the more famous *Discourse of western planting* of 1584. Hardly any of the material is here printed for the first time. The value of the collection of documents lies in the fact that it gathers together much that has been tucked away in early editions of Hakluyt's works, e.g., the preface to the *Divers voyages* of

1582 with its remarks on the need for colonies. Above all, it makes accessible the famous *Discourse of western planting* with its manifold arguments for English colonization in North America. Indeed the documents are almost all concerned with the progress of discovery and trade, and the recording of voyages. They show Hakluyt's patriotism and tireless zeal, and what Dr. Taylor rightly terms "his passion for the truth, for collecting and sifting evidence and for presenting it without distortion". It is a pity that the origin of the various documents, though given in the table of contents, is not also included at the head of each document. The volumes are completed with some illustrations and maps, such as John White's map of Virginia and Florida, and an index.

R. FLENLEY

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*Washington and the West.* By CHARLES H. AMBLER. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1936. Pp. viii, 270. (\$4.00)

*Guarding the Frontier: A Study of Frontier Defense from 1815 to 1825.*

By EDGAR BRUCE WESLEY. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press. 1935. Pp. xiii, 217. (\$2.50)

*The Western Military Frontier, 1815-1846.* By HENRY PUTNEY BEERS. A Dissertation in History Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Philadelphia: 1935. Pp. vi, 227. (\$2.00)

So much has been published in recent years of the importance of the west in the development of the United States as a whole that it is refreshing to find three monographs which provide us with studies that are primarily regional in scope but which maintain and recognize that national interests were at stake in the opening of the west. Epigrammatically one might almost say that their point of view is from the east westward rather than from the west eastward. It is also refreshing to find monographs on military history whose authors have apparently started "from scratch" instead of starting out with a determination to prove universals based upon prior theories or figments of the imagination.

Mr. Ambler's book is the most readable of the three, although much of it is a retold story. More than one-half is taken up with Washington's military campaigns while the remainder deals with his interest in the settlement of the west, in the acquisition of lands, and in tying the trans-Allegheny region to the east through the extension of internal improvements. Mr. Ambler's defence of Washington's treatment of Jumonville, based upon contemporary newspaper accounts, is excellent and tends to cast doubt upon the accuracy of French accounts upon which historians have hitherto relied. He likewise insists that the haste with which Villiers signed the capitulation at Fort Necessity and the easy terms which he granted were due to the insecurity of his own position and not because Washington had surrendered. This conclusion appears to be based upon solid reasoning. But the reviewer is not so certain that Mr. Ambler has said the last word when he remarks that it was "largely because of his



continued interest in the West that Washington was able to retain in peace the preëminence that he won in war" (p. 172), or that "As respects the Trans-Allegheny Washington's plans for tying it to the East by ties of interest are perhaps his greatest claims to statesmanship" (p. 208). It may be true that Washington's "interest in western lands . . . never blinded him to the public interest", but to assert that his greatest claim to statesmanship depends upon an omniscience concerning the west, while it is an interesting and stimulating point of view, needs more adequate proof than Mr. Ambler has given us in his book.

The first part of Mr. Wesley's book gives a rather detailed account of the work of Indian agents, of the establishment of the factory system, and of the successful efforts of the independent fur-traders to oust the government-operated system of factories as early as 1822. It would be interesting to compare the development of the competitive fur-trade in British North America with the government-operated system in the United States before 1822. Mr. Wesley points out that national military policy was directed toward the protection of the fur-trade, control of the Indians, and incidentally, in time of stress, protection against the British along the St. Lawrence and the great lakes. In fact, after 1815 the military frontier existed only west of Detroit, and after 1825 this northern frontier gradually lost its significance as a military frontier because of the "decreasing importance of the Indians", the rapid extension of settlement, and the emergence of "good understanding with Great Britain". In view of the protracted disputes with the British until 1846, this statement would seem to require more adequate treatment than the author has given it. The terms of the naval agreement of 1817 are incorrectly stated.

While covering a longer period, Mr. Beers's monograph is narrower in scope for it is concerned primarily with the extension of the line of military posts from the great lakes to the gulf of Mexico. Between 1784 and 1846, 147 posts were established primarily to protect white settlements against attacks by Indians. Mr. Beers contends that the successful hemming in of the Indians in the north-west and the establishment of American authority there was a reason, if not the reason, why the British accepted the convention of 1818 which provided for the forty-ninth parallel as the boundary between United States' and British territory. This rather surprising statement stands alone, and the reviewer, in the absence of any proof to the contrary, doubts its validity. By 1846, the Indians had left the north-west and the military frontier was abandoned. One wonders whether this had any effect upon the later withdrawal of troops from Canada.

Both Mr. Wesley and Mr. Beers make much of the perennial political issue of the maintenance of a standing army which was made necessary by the establishment of Indian posts. They also note the controversy which arose over the relative merits of a standing army and a militia for purposes of defence and whether the one or the other comported better with the idea of democracy in a republic. In view of the importance of the latter controversy, it would be interesting to discover to what extent Canadian opinion and practice were affected by American opinion and

practice, and to what extent Canadian opposition to maintaining a strong militia was influenced by the opinion that Great Britain should provide for the protection of her colonies through the medium of a permanent military force.

ALBERT B. COREY

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*Canada and the British Army, 1846-1871: A Study in the Practice of Responsible Government.* By C. P. STACEY. (Imperial Studies, no. 11.) Published for the Royal Empire Society. London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1936. Pp. xiv, 287. (\$3.50)

It is pleasant for a reviewer when he can frankly say, as I can of Dr. Stacey's book, that he likes the work which he is reviewing. *Canada and the British army* is indeed the most promising first book which any young Canadian historian has written for some time; and if this be the standard required by Princeton for its doctoral theses, the university is to be congratulated. The book is an expert study of a neglected subject, the military side of Canadian constitutional development, but it has qualities which make it of great interest to general readers. For one thing, it is written, not in the prevailing illiterate fashion of post-graduate schools, but in the king's English, dignified and appropriate to the art of the historian. For another, it deals freshly, and from a new angle, with a subject on which no Canadian at least can be indifferent, the stages by which the dominion came to nationhood.

Few have noticed that, equally with constitutional and fiscal affairs, the military history of Canada, between the first grant of self-government and the whole-hearted acceptance by Gladstonian liberalism of the implications of that grant, deals with fundamentals, and throws light on the growth of Canada as a whole. In one sense Dr. Stacey's book takes the old routine story of responsible government and confederation, and gives it new interest by telling it in unexpected terms. Every section of the study has its own peculiar interest: Elgin and his canny genius guiding England and Canada through the start of a great experiment; repercussions of the Crimean war in North America; actions and reactions of the American civil war; Fenian experiments and failures; Gladstonianism with its unintended support to an empire in which it hardly believed.

Dr. Stacey has shown real understanding of, and sympathy with, English as well as Canadian statesmen, and he is innocent of the grotesque misinterpretations of political motives which wreck so many doctoral theses in modern history. He does not feel called on to act as "scolding prophet" to prime ministers in matters where young scholars may be assumed to know less than the statesmen they condemn; and—a great merit in these days of sentimental pacifism—he writes of soldiers and the army without feeling it necessary to apologize for their existence.

For English readers he raises many points of interest and importance. It is well to be reminded how deeply "little Englandism" infected English politicians of the period—not merely Manchester men, but Tories like Disraeli and the opposition benches who listened to Cardwell when,

in his army estimates, he cut down colonial garrisons ruthlessly. Still one might qualify Dr. Stacey's generalization that "mid-Victorian Englishmen were in general men of little faith", by claiming first that in domestic affairs they were almost too complacent, and in the second place that, politics apart, mid-Victorian men of action like Livingstone, Gordon, and the Lawrences, all and always erred on the side of audacity. The shrewdest point made in the book is that even the drastic reductions introduced by British Liberals in their imperial responsibilities worked towards a sounder empire or commonwealth in the future; in Dr. Stacey's words, "if the unity of the Empire was ultimately to survive the prevalence of these views in the mother country, it could only be by virtue of a shift in the balance of imperial responsibilities commensurate with that which had taken place in the balance of imperial authority".

Space forbids further comment on an exciting subject, but room must be found at least for Dr. Stacey's repeated proofs that however reluctant England may have been to continue military expenditure for Canadian defence, she very handsomely "footed the bill", long after Earl Grey's despatch in 1851 had reminded Canadians of their duty towards themselves; so that as late as 1867-8 it was still true that the British contribution to Canadian defence, £1,243,423, was about four times what the dominion itself was spending on the same items. There is colour in such stray touches as that the last battalion of regulars to occupy the citadel at Quebec belonged to a regiment which had fought under Wolfe, and the reminder that "John A's" disappearance for a week, and for obvious reasons, may have helped to defeat the Militia Bill in 1862 is the kind of humorous aside which helps even serious history.

This, then, is an admirable book on a subject hitherto neglected, written with judgment, knowledge, and literary skill, and a credit to Canadian scholarship.

J. L. MORISON

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*Lord Brougham.* By G. T. GARRATT. London: Macmillan and Company. [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada.] 1935. Pp. viii, 354. (\$4.50)

THIS book calls for no notice in a Canadian historical review, except as affording a good example of the glaring mistakes which English writers so frequently make when they touch Canadian history, although in fairness it must be said that it is only when they touch it incidentally. Lord Brougham's contact with Canada was practically limited to his attack on Lord Durham's Bermuda ordinance. That provided the dramatic background of a British political crisis to Lord Durham's *Report*, and this had a very considerable influence on the report itself and on its reception in Great Britain. The significance of that is not at all apparent to the author of this biography of Brougham. The superficial facts are narrated in two pages in very inaccurate fashion. On page 320 "the Canadian constitution" is suspended, rather than that of Lower Canada and on page 321 that is described as an "illegal action", a statement which definitely

passes comprehension. We are informed that Lord Durham "formed an Executive Council of four, none of whom had any experience of Canadian administration, and three of whom were his private secretaries". It would be very difficult to pack more inaccuracies into so short a sentence. It was not the executive council; it was a special council with legislative as well as executive powers. There were five members, not four. One of them, Daly, had been a member of the old executive council and consequently possessed experience in Canadian administration. There was no private secretary of Lord Durham's on the council, although there were three secretaries to the commission, which was a different story. And so the account proceeds. The number of those affected by the ordinance is wrongly given, and the illegality is assigned to the wrong part of the ordinance. Brougham's sophistical arguments are taken at face value and the account is particularly unfair to Melbourne.

This book is a well-written and interesting account of Brougham's career "along general lines" based on published material only, too partial to Brougham, and weak on the great causes to which he gave his life.

CHESTER W. NEW

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*Potlatch and Totem and the Recollections of an Indian Agent.* By W. M. HALLIDAY. London and Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1935. Pp. xvi, 240. (\$3.75)

POTLATCH and totem has some features of a great book. Indeed, the publishers state, on the jacket, that "If it were not an actual, detailed study of a living tribe, it might be classed with *Gulliver's Travels* or *Erewhon* as dramatic romance and social satire". Yet it is a long way from being a great book. Mr. Halliday, who wrote it from personal experience for thirty-eight years, witnessed the struggle of the Kwakiutl, the most conservative of the North-west coast nations, against the white invader, whose coming meant the downfall of their customs and their race. But he failed to understand profoundly the elements of grandeur in the events that enriched his long experience and, more than any other white man in the same surroundings, he contributed to the defeat of native resistance in a last attempt to stave off destiny. A race of men stoutly endowed, like the Kwakiutl, with a sense of self-preservation, does not complacently go down to extinction. And the phases of the *potlatches* minutely and honestly recounted by the author show how the Kwakiutl chiefs meant to safeguard the stamina of their people; they knew no other means for this than the preservation of their customs, of independence in their village life, and of their creed in vital life forces with which they dealt like Spartans. For instance, one of them would say in a *potlatch*: "The glory of every young man is his strength. In addition to your strength I admire also the wisdom with which you put pitch and sand on your hands before attempting to raise the stone . . . I am going to reward you for your ingenuity and your strength" (p. 105). It is in the manifestations of these manly efforts of a few chiefs to ward off tribal decay that the book becomes significant; it is made of the stuff that

great writers once turned to epics. But the author is unable to interpret significant functions in anything but a foreign language, utterly poor and devoid of style and distinction.

A few samples will suffice to characterize the book at its best and its worst. The Kwakiutl chiefs dramatically declared in the last *potlatch* held by this tribe: "Never forget that you are of a great family; you must pull yourself together and show yourself as great as your father was. We shall all expect you to continue the same old customs . . ." (p. 113). "My father and his forefathers have always been very generous. They have always given away wealth beyond what one is able to count. They have always been honest people. They have always been straight in their dealings. What they had they got by their own merits . . ." (p. 110). "May all that you do be prosperous. May you ever keep up the good name of the Indians, and may you ever keep up the good old custom [of the *potlatch*] as we have done this day" (p. 107).

Of humour not a trace except in the incident of the author's early encounter with a Kwakiutl tribe. Mr. Halliday, whose parents had taken possession of a hayfield of the natives, began his career as a reformer by whipping native boys playing along a river because they were naked, and, when a chief later remonstrated about this, he "flooded" the man. In his own words: "An idea crossed my mind that the first blow sometimes decides a battle . . . I jumped towards him [the Indian interpreter] and landed him one on the point of the jaw, sufficiently hard that he went backwards about twenty feet and then fell on his back, with his hands and feet up in the air." It is fortunate that both parties in the encounter had enough humour to laugh hard at this "knockout", which saved the situation. The incident was characteristic of the man who was later to become the Indian agent for the Kwakiutl, to endeavour to reform their ways with the protection of the law, to prosecute the chiefs whenever they infringed the Indian act and have them put in jail, until they pledged themselves to hold no more *potlatches*. There was no other way out for them; they were crushed. And Mr. Halliday admits, "I may say frankly that I was a much-hated man by the Indians of this agency" (p. 132).

If the author could not see beyond the letter of a law that was passed in 1883 at the request of a missionary society, he remained all his life a forceful character and an upright man, and a reliable Indian agent. He was shielded by his superiors and, in the end, won the honours of the battle. Now he can write his recollections with a degree of sincerity that makes his readers indulgent, and even an ethnologist—who may disapprove of his attitude towards his wards—will be grateful for the extensive accounts of several *potlatches* which are among the best on record. A man who, like this, has taken an intelligent interest in a vanquished race, must have a soft spot in his heart for the under-dog. This book for its good qualities deserves a place among the valuable records on a primitive race now reduced to silence forever.

MARIUS BARBEAU

*Agricultural Progress on the Prairie Frontier.* By R. W. MURCHIE assisted by WILLIAM ALLEN and J. F. BOOTH. (Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, edited by W. A. MACKINTOSH and W. L. G. JOERG, vol. V.) Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1936. Pp. xii, 344. (\$4.50)

As stated in the introduction, this volume "presents a rapid summary of the development of western agriculture leading up to the present utilization of agricultural land. It deals with the changes, which have been taking place in the capitalization of the industry, in order to show the difference between pioneering of the past and pioneering of the present. It attempts to show the import of the changes taking place in land tenure, and the economic and social aspects of the trend from farm operation by land owners to tenant operation. It deals with some of the changes in the techniques of production and especially with the development of mechanized farming. It presents a series of 'snap-shot' pictures of the financial condition of several hundred farmers in various areas of the Prairie Provinces."

The mere statement that such a variety of large and complicated topics is to be dealt with in a single volume of three hundred pages is sufficient to suggest the need for a rather summary form of treatment. There can be little doubt that, in particular, the treatment of the subjects dealt with in chapters ii to vi inclusive, is rendered less satisfactory because of the handicap of insufficient space. The seriousness of this handicap and the fact that it is recognized by the authors is well illustrated by the opening sentence in the chapter on ranching which says: "It is difficult to condense in one brief chapter a record of the development of an industry as extensive and varied as that of ranching on the prairies of Canada."

This lack of space may also have contributed to the failure to supply much in the way of economic interpretation of a large part of the factual material presented. In any event the comparative lack of such interpretation will probably be regarded by the majority of readers as a rather serious omission. Had the degree and quality of economic analysis found in the chapter on land-tenure been everywhere applied, the value of the book would have been enhanced immeasurably. Incidentally, the chapter on land-tenure makes a distinct contribution to an increasingly important subject.

Many readers will doubtless be surprised to find more than half the space, or nine out of sixteen chapters, devoted to a description of economic conditions and progress as revealed in survey records secured from nine selected areas during 1930 and 1931. However, when it is remembered that the central objective of the pioneer belts committee is to discover the extent of the farmer's success or failure with reasons therefor in order the better to guide future settlement, it should not be difficult to understand why the surveys were made and in so many separate areas. If the survey method is to be used and if the development of the entire area covered by the three provinces is to be examined, it follows that regional areas must be selected and a separate survey conducted in each such area.

There is a veritable store of information collected in the nine chapters

covering the regional survey areas. For the most part, however, it is largely a bare statement of discovered facts. While there is more interpretation here than in the early chapters of the book, it would have been most valuable had each chapter concluded with a brief summary stating the general economic significance of the facts revealed. Generally speaking, whatever may be offered by way of criticism of this book should be in respect of acts of omission and not of commission. The general objective is sought *viâ* two routes. The general historical treatment of agricultural development in the first seven chapters represents one route. The application of the survey method in nine separate areas, as described in the last nine chapters, represents the other. The results obtained by following one method act as a supplement to, and a check upon, those resulting from following the other. We have nothing but praise for the choice of methods of approach. Finally, in case some readers should find the book dull they should bear in mind that this is due not to the authors' style but rather to the amount of factual material which had to be included, much of it of a mathematical and statistical type.

W. M. DRUMMOND

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*Das evangelische Deutschtum in Kanada.* Von Dr. H. LEHMANN. (Jahrbuch, 1935, Auslandsdeutschtum und evangelischer Kirche, Berlin, 1935, 1-38).

THE title of this essay is misleading because it deals more with history, settlement, colonization, and politics than with the religious side of the question. A good deal of information is packed into these pages, but much of the material is a "rehash" of an earlier work on the Germans in Canada.<sup>1</sup> Very few sources are given. Halifax was not the first English foothold in Nova Scotia. However precarious, this was obtained forty years earlier in Annapolis Royal. The Rev. Paul Bryzelius was not a German (p. 6) but a native of Sweden. It is, to say the least, doubtful whether the "Old Dutch" church in Halifax was first employed as a school-house. The first sermon was preached there in 1753 on the first day of Pentecost. The service was in German by the Rev. Mr. Slater (chaplain to the troops). The building was completed in 1761 and consecrated by the Rev. Mr. Breyton on the second day of Easter. The little church was then named St. George's. It was not, as far as one knows, used as a school before June 29, 1760. The teacher was a German, Johann Gotfried Torpel (died 1761). In dealing with German settlers in the province of Quebec, more information about the officers and men of the German auxiliary troops under von Riedesel, of whom many settled there, would have been welcome (p. 30). Whether the actual number of Germans by race in Canada is 700,000 as Dr. Lehmann claims (p. 38) is impossible to prove or disprove. The reviewer considers the estimate nearly 200,000 too high. The difficulty of arriving at correct figures in the racial make-up of Canada's population has been discussed in this REVIEW (1929, 352-3). The official figures of the 1931 census are 473,544. These are probably too low, but the figure 700,000 looks like propaganda. We must remember

<sup>1</sup>Cf. CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XIII, 1932, 212-3.



that during the war and immediately after, and especially during the economic crisis that set in in the fall of 1929, very many Germans went to the United States, returned to Germany and to other parts of Europe (the majority of Germans in Canada are not Reich Germans). It requires restraint to read and write about Herr Lehmann's studies without a feeling of irritation released by his patronizing tone towards Canadians, traces of Anglophobia, and more than a modicum of that modern method of disseminating information and ideas derived from the "*congregatio de propaganda fide*".

LOUIS HAMILTON

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*Die Bedeutung der Weltwirtschaftskrise für Kanada.* Von Dr. GERT VON EYERN. (Vierteljahrshäfte zur Statistik des Deutschen Reiches, no. IV, Berlin, 1935, 121-36).

THIS is a succinct essay on the effect of the world economic crisis on Canada. Appearing as it does in a journal devoted to statistics and correlative subjects, it is well-documented by careful and instructive figures. Dr. von Eyern attributes the dominion's railroad difficulties to the fact that Canada has more railway mileage per capita than any country. This increases the overhead expenses. Of immigrants, which have cost the country so much, he writes that the money spent is far outweighed by the incalculable service to Canada rendered by enterprising, youthful, and diligent newcomers. He does not enter into the question of immigration, though this is really Canada's most vital problem. It is much more likely that immigration (of the right sort) will lower unemployment figures than increase them. Without immigration Canada is doomed to stagnation, at least to a very slow development economically. True, in contradistinction to the United States her birthrate is high, but not sufficient to grow into her too ample garments in the shape of railways, canals, universities, hotels, and multitudinous federal and provincial institutions. The author attributes the agrarian crisis to Canada's prominent position within the structure of the world's wheat market. "Diese Zerrütung hatte nur wenig mit der seinerzeit durch den Weltkrieg hervorgerufenen Wandlung zu tun" (p. 126). This is true, and the war only hastened a development that had set in before. Nevertheless, wheat prices would never have reached the levels they did without the war. He explains the effect of the Argentine price-cutting, but omits to remark that lack of elevators in the Argentine forces rapid transference to ships. With all the disadvantages of high tariffs to the farmers in Canada, especially in the west, Dr. von Eyern points out the advantage resulting in the establishment of American branch-factories in the dominion (p. 120). It is interesting to note that Germany's exports to Canada which were 14.6 million dollars in 1913-4 were only 10 million dollars in 1934-5 and that Canada's exports to Germany which were 4 million dollars in 1913-4 were still only 4.5 million dollars in 1934-5. They reached their peak at 46.7 million dollars in 1928-9 which was 10 million dollars in excess of Germany's exports to Canada in the same period. The author is much impressed by Canada's economic approach to the motherland (p. 134). This is, however, due not

only to the Ottawa conference, but to the shrinkage of non-British markets for Canadian goods as a result of attempts at autarchy and increased wheat-acreage in Europe and elsewhere. Canada will be able to maintain her high level of wheat production in the prairies, only if she is willing to make trade sacrifices. New dangers will threaten Canada's wheat production when Japan has realized her plan of extending wheat-growing in Manchukuo and should the United States renounce her policy of reducing wheat acreage. Dr. Eyern is probably right when he says that it is out of the question that wheat will ever again produce a new economic boom in Canada. But this does not hold good in case of a war. Compensation will be found in meat, butter, cheese, and fish exports (p. 135). But Canada without wheat as her economic barometer will have to find a new economic orientation. He considers that Canada has turned the corner of the crisis, but thinks that no real recovery is possible till the burden of the C.N.R. debts has been lightened. Here certainly a painful economic surgical operation is necessary.

LOUIS HAMILTON

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*Vancouver, a Short History.* By the Archivists' Club of the Templeton Junior High School, Vancouver. Vancouver, B.C.: Sun Publishing Company. 1936. Pp. 32.

THIS little venture by a group of pupils in the Templeton Junior High School, Vancouver, B.C., deserves mention. It owes its existence to the efforts of Mr. Kenneth A. Waites, a graduate of the University of British Columbia, who adapted a research technique for the use of pupils of the ages of fourteen and fifteen years. Under his direction an Archivists' Club of five members was formed and worked for eighteen months on the gathering of materials. Assistance and advice were obtained from the University of British Columbia, the Provincial Archives, the City Archives of Vancouver, the Vancouver Public Library, and from other sources. The principal of the Templeton Junior High School, Mr. H. B. Fitch, undertook to see the pamphlet through the press and the necessary guarantee for funds was put up by the school. Major J. S. Matthews, city archivist, has contributed the foreword.

Taken all in all, this brief brochure furnishes the most complete and satisfactory account of Vancouver's first half-century which has yet appeared in print. It was written to give to the school-children some idea of the history of the city which this year celebrates its golden jubilee, but it should appeal to a wide audience.

A word may be added regarding the illustrations. The cover and centre pages are the work of a Japanese schoolboy artist from Templeton Junior High. Both illustrate the growth of the city from primitive times to the present. Other illustrations have been furnished by the Provincial Archives and the City Archives, by old-timers and by local photographers. Probably the most interesting is that which represents Vancouver in ashes after the great fire of June 13, 1886. Mr. H. T. Devine, who took the photograph on June 14, 1886, has lived to celebrate Vancouver's golden jubilee.

W. N. SAGE

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

### THE OPENING OF THE FORT BEAUSÉJOUR MUSEUM

THE official opening of the Fort Beauséjour Museum, at Fort Beauséjour National Park, Westmorland county, New Brunswick, took place on August 1, 1936. The effect of a dignified and impressive ceremony was heightened by the beautiful panorama which is visible from the site commanding the south-western shoulder of Beauséjour ridge. To the south-west the long shore-line of Cumberland basin ended abruptly where its waters merged with those of Chignecto bay. To the south-east, across the waving grasslands and marshes of the isthmus, could be seen Fort Lawrence ridge from the slopes of which a British force of two thousand men, under the command of Colonel Monckton, sallied forth to their victory over the French at Beauséjour in June, 1755. The park, abutting the fort-site on the north-east and blocking the view of the country beyond, furnished an attractive vista of woodland.

The site, while isolated, is easily accessible, and over five thousand gathered for the ceremony, not only from the surrounding district but from all parts of the Maritime Provinces and from the United States. The brass bands, the waving kilts of a detachment of the Cumberland county highlanders, and the scarlet tunics of the R.C.M.P., added a dash of the martial spirit to the scene. It was cause of great gratification that the event so captured the interest of the community. Acadians and persons of British stock alike came to the fort as the centre about which the tradition of their ancestors clustered.

Dr. J. Clarence Webster, C.M.G., member of the historic sites and monuments board, and honorary curator of the Fort Beauséjour Museum, was in the chair. He made a public acknowledgement of thanks to all those whose years of effort had culminated in the present ceremony—Mr. J. B. Harkin, chief commissioner of national parks, the staff of the national parks branch, and officials of the historic sites and monuments board. Dr. Webster outlined the history of the undertaking. The Hon. Mr. Rhodes had secured an appropriation from parliament in 1914 to preserve the powder magazine, but the project was interrupted by the declaration of war. The area had been declared a national park in 1925, and had been officially opened in 1928. The work of the development had progressed without political interference, both Liberal and Conservative governments having participated to bring the undertaking to a successful issue. In preparing for the opening ceremony the town councils and board of trade of Sackville and Amherst had co-operated splendidly. It was worthy of note that in his effort to secure exhibits for the museum Dr. Webster had not had a single refusal.

Dr. Webster received a striking ovation and acknowledgement of untiring effort to mark and preserve historic sites, and to make the history of his country more generally known and appreciated by the people at large. In concluding his address on the history of the region,

the Right Hon. R. B. Bennett said that a record of the origins of things, such as was to be found in the new museum, strengthened tradition and made for vitality. In stressing the need for leadership, he pointed to Dr. Webster as an example of the best type. After an eminent career in the field of medicine, instead of retiring to a life of ease, Dr. Webster had devoted himself in the autumn of his life to the building up of the national tradition. The generations of the future would be his debtors. He paid tribute to Mrs. Webster's translation of Jacau de Fiedmont's *Journal of the siege of Beauséjour*, edited by Dr. Webster, which was issued as Historical studies, no. 1 of the "Publications of the New Brunswick Museum" on the day of the opening of the Fort Beauséjour Museum.

The Hon. Allison Dysart, premier of New Brunswick, in welcoming the great throng on behalf of the people and government of the province, besides alluding to the fort and museum as objects of international interest, spoke of the great attraction which the historic site had already been to tourists. The Hon. Thane Campbell, premier of Prince Edward Island, and the Hon. J. W. Comeau, of Nova Scotia, spoke on behalf of their respective peoples and governments. In officially opening the museum on behalf of the government of Canada, Senator the Hon. Walter Foster spoke of the possibility in the near future of enlarging the museum to make room for the many valuable exhibits which lack of space now prevents being displayed.

The Hon. J. B. M. Baxter, chief justice of New Brunswick, related the history of Chignecto in detail, both in its local aspects and in relation to the great struggle for overseas empire between France and England in the eighteenth century. "These fields", he said in concluding, "were first tilled by men and women who sought peace in a new land and found strife. Yet as the stream of human life has flowed without cease through the centuries over the rough and discordant setting which nature has provided for it, the traces of blood and sorrow and suffering have vanished, and hate and rancour disappeared. French and English in this great land have come to work together in peace . . . united in the cause of human freedom."

Among other speakers were Sir Joseph Chisholm, chief justice of Nova Scotia, on behalf of the historians of Canada; Mr. Hugh H. Watson, United States consul-general in the Maritimes; and the Rev. L. LaPalme, president of St. Joseph's College, Memramcook. The official guests included Senator Bourke; M. Eugene Benac, representing the French government; the Hon. Percy Black, M.L.A.; Mayor D. L. MacLaren of Saint John; Captain R. Bennett; Senator the Hon. Frank Black; the Rev. R. S. Morissey of Mount Watley; M. F. Kaufman, mayor of Amherst, N.S.; C. W. Fawcett, mayor of Sackville, N.B.; Senator the Hon. C. W. Robinson; K. J. Cochrane, M.P.; the Hon. Henry Emerson, M.P.; Mr. C. C. Avaré; Sir Douglas and Lady Hazen; Mrs. Dysart; Mrs. Fawcett; Mrs. Kaufman; and J. S. Smiley, M.L.A.

After the addresses, Mrs. Dysart cut the silk ribbon at the door of the museum, officially opening the structure. Simultaneously Mrs. Kaufman, wife of the mayor of Amherst, fired the salute from the old French cannon, the only remaining cannon of those used in the defence

of Fort Beauséjour, in 1755, which was presented to the museum by Dr. Webster. At the same time, inside the building, Mrs. Fawcett, wife of the mayor of Sackville, rang the old bell which once belonged to the church built by the Abbé Le Loutre near Fort Beauséjour. [A. G. BAILEY]

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THE PRESENTMENTS OF THE GRAND JURY, QUEBEC, 1765  
A QUERY

[The REVIEW has received the following note and query from Miss Marie Tremaine of the staff of the Public Reference Library, Toronto. Miss Tremaine has received a Carnegie grant and is working at Yale University on a Canadian bibliographical enterprise.]

On March 29, 1765, James Johnson, one of the leaders in the small group of English merchants in Quebec, published the first piece of political literature issued in Canada. As foreman of the jury in the court of general quarter sessions of the peace for Quebec district, he had had a hand in drawing up its *Presentments* of October 20, 1764, which attacked the privileges and powers of the French Roman Catholic and the British military groups and set forth the claim of the jury to serve as proxy for a legislative assembly in the newly conquered province. The French jurors who signed the *Presentments* sent out a repudiation six days later, stating that they had been duped into complaisance. The justices returned the *Presentments* to the jurors with stinging criticism. The text of the *Presentments*, the French protest, and the justices' *Charge and Strictures* survived in MSS. in the Public Archives at Ottawa.<sup>1</sup>

A somewhat different text, however, was printed to Johnson's order at the time of the events it records. This pamphlet, the first printed by Quebec's first printer, contains the *Charge* to the jury, the latter's *Presentments*, and the justices' *Strictures* thereon. Johnson did not see fit to include the French jurors' repudiation in his publication, but he did include lengthy *Remarks upon the strictures* prepared by the Protestant jurors and a letter by Wm. Mackenzie and others, thanking the jurors on behalf of "the merchants, traders and principal inhabitants of Quebec". This pamphlet, of which no copy has been available in modern times, has been known from statements of Mr. Æ. Fauteux and from the entry in the account book (now in the Archives at Ottawa) of Brown and Gilmore, a pair of Philadelphia-trained printers who established a press in Quebec in 1764:

Printed for James Johnson, the Grand Jury's  
Presentments, Justices' Strictures, and  
G. Jury's Remarks Thereon, 4½ sheets in  
Quarto, French and English 450 copies at  
£3 Halifax for the 1st 150 and 10s for  
each 150 after, of each sheet—£21/12/—  
[Quebec Currency];

Two copies of the English section have recently come to light, one in the Massachusetts Historical Society, the other, at Yale University.

<sup>1</sup>All in *Q series*, *Presentments* alone in *S series*; *Presentments* and the French protest in the *Dartmouth papers* also printed in Shortt and Doughty's *Documents*, I, 212-23.

In the accompanying cut the type page has been reduced from 18.8×15 cm.

A T  
THE FIRST COURT OF  
QUARTER-SESSIONS  
Of the P E A C E,

HELD AT QUEBEC. IN October 1764.

*His Worship the President's Charge to the GRAND-JURY:*

GENTLEMEN of the Grand-Jury.

YOU, as the Body selected on this Occasion, for the District of the City of *Quebec*, are to enquire of whatever Things arise within the said District. You are to enquire of all Felonies, Trespasses, Forestallings, Regratings, Introusings and Extortions of every Sort whatsoever, and all and singular or other Crimes and Offences, Misdemeanours, or Pleas of the Crown, which may be given you in Charge, or which you may know of your own Knowledge, and to make true Presentments to us His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said District, in Order that they may be punished according to the several Laws, as in such Cases may be provided.

You are also to present all Things that are publick Nuisances, of every Sort which are given you in Charge, or that you may know of from your own Knowledge, in order that the same may be redressed: And also of all Incroachments or Stoppages on the several High-ways, Streets, or publick Roads, and also of what Roads are proper for Repair, and are so impassable as to endanger the Lives of His Majesty's Subjects.

You are also to make Presentment of all Vagabonds, and Persons of no visible Way of Livelihood, whereby His Majesty's Subjects may be endangered in their Lives and Property, so that such Persons may be brought to condign Punishment.

Upon

This pamphlet (4to. Sig.: A-B; 16 p.) comprises two of the "4½ sheets" used by the printer for each copy. The remaining two and half sheets probably contained a French translation of the text and preliminary matter. If any reader of the REVIEW in his researches should come upon a copy of the French section, I would be grateful for a note of it. I would welcome, indeed, a memorandum of any early Canadian printed works, which the REVIEW's readers may have in their private collections. I am preparing a bibliography of books, pamphlets, broadsides, etc., including almanacs, newspapers, and government serials, printed in Canada from 1751 through 1800, and I am locating copies in some thirty libraries in Canada and the United States. For any information concerning such publications sent me at the Public Reference Library, Toronto, or the Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., I shall be very grateful.

#### CONTRIBUTORS

The first article in this issue, "The visual reconstruction of history", is by Dr. Charles W. Jefferys of York Mills, Ontario, whose work as an historical painter is known not only throughout Canada but in other

countries. Dr. Jefferys is a scholar as well as an artist and writes with authority on a theme too frequently neglected by historians. The other articles and the document, which constitute an important addition to the literature on David Thompson, are contributed by Professor A. S. Morton of the University of Saskatchewan, and Mr. W. M. Stewart, a civil engineer of Saskatoon. The REVIEW is pleased to have again the annual survey of the literature of constitutional and administrative law by Professor W. P. M. Kennedy, head of the department of law in the University of Toronto.

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#### ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

*Harvard College Library* has a collection of Canadiana, numbering some 11,000 volumes. Part of the collection came from the library of Francis Parkman, and its upkeep is partly provided for by a fund given in his memory. It is strong in the first editions of Champlain, Le Clercq, Joutel, and Hennepin. The set of the *Jesuit relations* contains all but three of the original issues. Among the papers of Jared Sparks also there are several items of interest to Canadian history, including: "Journal of the most remarkable occurrences in the province of Quebec from the first appearance of the rebels in September, 1775, until their retreat of the sixth of May", kept by Thomas Ainslie (printed in *Historical documents of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*, 7th series, 9-89); "War of the revolution, 1779-81—Relating principally to the affairs of Vermont Indians, and events in the west and Canada"; "Journal of the siege of Quebec, 1775"; "Arnold's journal of his expedition to Canada", from the original in the possession of Judge Edwards of New York. The library has recently acquired one of four typewritten copies of "The annals of Liverpool and Queen's county, Nova Scotia, 1760-1867", by Robert Long.

The *Huntington Library* announces the appointment of Dr. Edward H. Tatum, of the University of California at Los Angeles, as assistant to the director for two years, and to carry on an investigation of the American attitude towards England after the revolution.

The course of the old Red river trails is being traced for the *Minnesota Historical Society*. This work will make available an accurate map of these interesting early trails over which passed an extensive and profitable trade between the Canadian Red river settlements and St. Paul.

The *Royal Society of Canada* has now completed arrangements to house its library with the National Research Council of Canada, Ottawa.

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#### CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

*Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver*. Among recent donations received by the City Museum of Vancouver are four books of photographs of the pioneers of the Fraser valley, a large collection of programmes and bills referring to early concerts and theatrical performances in Vancouver, and a number of early photographs of Vancouver and New Westminster.

The *British Columbia Historical Association* is initiating a project to federate all the local historical societies of British Columbia under the British Columbia Historical Association.



*Brockville Historical Society.* President, Lieutenant-Colonel F. C. Curry; secretary, H. R. Morgan, Brockville, Ontario.

The *Champlain Society* has issued to members the sixth and last volume of *Champlain's works*, containing a full index to the six volumes. The council of the society has authorized the publication of several works which are now in preparation. Sir Arthur Doughty has undertaken to edit Patrick Campbell's *Travels in the interior inhabited parts of North America* (Edinburgh, 1793); the task of editing the *Hargrave papers* has been confided to Professor George Glazebrook of the University of Toronto; Professor George M. Wrong and Mr. H. H. Langton will edit and translate Sagard's *Grand voyage*, a volume of great importance for the early history of Ontario. The council of the society has been able to come to an agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company whereby the society is to have the exclusive right of publishing the wealth of original documentary material relating to the history of Canada contained in the archives of Hudson's Bay House. It is proposed to issue one volume a year in a "Hudson's Bay Company Series". President, Sir Robert Falconer, K.C.M.G.; secretaries, Harold C. Walker, W. Stewart Wallace; treasurer, George H. Locke.

The *Elgin Historical Society* met with the Norfolk and Oxford Historical Societies on May 26 in the Parish Hall of Old St. Paul's Church, Woodstock, and a very interesting paper was given on Colonel Talbot. A full report of the meeting and the paper was printed in the *Woodstock Sentinel review* of that week. The Elgin Historical Society is doing much valuable research in connection with the marking of historical sites in the county. The society will soon publish its "Place names of Elgin West"—a companion volume to the *East Elgin place names* published last year. [ELLA N. LEWIS, secretary]

The *Grand Manan Island Historical Society* has issued the third of its series of publications that appear under the general title of the "Grand Manan historian". The new issue is devoted to an article on the geology of the island, written in 1839 by Dr. Abraham Gesner, provincial geologist of New Brunswick at that time. It is admirably edited by Mr. Buchanan Charles, of Brookline, Mass., president of the society, and is illustrated with photographs and an original detailed map of the island.

The *Historical Association of Annapolis Royal* held its quarterly meeting in the Memorial Town Hall on August 4, 1936, Lieutenant-Colonel E. K. Eaton, president, in the chair. Dr. R. S. Longley, of Acadia University, gave an address on "Acadia and the Acadians", presenting a very clear account of the first settlement of the Acadians at Port Royal in 1604, and their history to the expulsion of 1755. He also drew attention to the history of France during this period and pointed out its effect on Acadia and the Acadians. [E. K. EATON, president]

The *Nova Scotia Historical Society* has issued volume XXIII of its *Collections*. The historical papers printed therein are included in our "List of recent publications relating to Canada". In the president's address it is stated that since the appearance of volume XXII, the meetings of the society have been held regularly in the legislative chamber in the province house, and in the Nova Scotia archives building. Some twenty historical papers have been read, and from

these and others a selection was made of eight papers to constitute the contents of volume XXIII of the *Collections*. The meetings of the society have been well attended, the attendance of those interested at the unveiling of tablets has been large and enthusiastic, and local historical societies have been organized in different localities.

The *Ontario Historical Society* presents this year a programme of exceptional interest for its annual meeting which is to be held at Niagara Falls on September 14-6. The New York State Historical Association is meeting at the same time at Niagara Falls, N.Y., and the two societies have arranged in part a joint programme, which includes visits to points of interest on the Canadian side of the river on the 14th. and on the American side on the 15th. The dinner meeting on the 14th will be addressed by Dr. D. McArthur, deputy minister of education for Ontario and Dr. M. M. Quaife of the Detroit Public Library; that on the 15th by Sir Robert Falconer and President Dixon Ryan Fox of Union College. A complete programme may be obtained from Mr. J. McE. Murray, secretary of the Ontario Historical Society, Normal School Building, Toronto.

The *Similkameen Historical Association*. There was a good attendance at the June meeting. Correspondence was read in connection with the reported discovery on Manson mountain, by Harry Squakin, of what is reputed to be the grave of an old Hudson's Bay Company servant. Material received for the association's museum included a stone hammer, specimens of concretions, a book on the wild flowers of the district, an old ramrod gun, and a photograph of the first home in Penticton—that of Tom Ellis. [JOHN C. GOODFELLOW, secretary]

*Société Historique de Montréal*. President, Égidius Fauteux; vice-president, Olivier Maurault; counsellors, Victor Morin and E.-P. Chagnon.

*Société Historique d'Ottawa*. M. Lucien Brault presented to the society a well-documented study on "Monuments d'Ottawa".

*Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa*. The society's past season has been very successful; membership has increased, and the public interest in the monthly meetings, social events, and open days at the Bytown Museum, has been most encouraging. Through the kindness of the secretary of state, and the acting dominion archivist, the meetings of the society are held in one of the rooms of the Public Archives Building, and a special exhibit is always arranged, in keeping with the subject of the meeting. Addresses were given to the society during the year by Brigadier-General C. F. Winter, Mr. Hugh Ronald Stewart, Dr. Marius Barbeau, Mr. A. S. Redfern, and Mr. Huntley Sinclair. The society is honoured in having as its patroness Her Excellency Lady Tweedsmuir, who attended the lecture given by Mr. Redfern on his experiences in British Sudan, and visited the Bytown Museum. The members of the Canadian Historical Society, which met in Ottawa in May, were entertained at tea in the museum. The society lost two of its oldest and most valued members during the year, Mrs. J. B. Simpson, for many years curator of the museum, and Miss Eva Read, who retired a year ago after twenty-five years' service as librarian. [Mrs. H. G. BARBER, corresponding secretary]

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: B.R.H.—Bulletin des recherches historiques; C.H.R.—CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW; C.J.E.P.S.—Canadian journal of economics and political science.)

### I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

- ALTHAM, E. *Imperial defence and the international situation* (Quarterly rev., vol. 267, no. 529, July, 1936, 1-13).
- ANGELL, Sir NORMAN. *Colonies, defence and peace* (United empire, XXVII (5), May, 1936, 248-59). Discussion on the empire.
- GOLOWIN, NIKOLAI. *Die Weltmacht Grossbritannien*. Berlin: Siegesmund. 1936. Pp. 151. (M.6) A competent consideration, by a Russian general, of the problems of British foreign policy and imperial defence.
- HOARE, Sir SAMUEL. *Defences of the empire* (United empire, XXVII (7), July, 1936, 393-401). An address by the first lord of the admiralty.
- JENNINGS, W. I. *The Statute of Westminster and appeals to the privy council* (Law quar. rev., LII, April, 1936, 173-88).
- MACKENROTH, GERHARD. *Die Wirtschaftsverflechtung des Britischen Weltreiches*. Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt. 1935. Pp. 229. (M. 11) A scholarly analysis of the economic relations of the members of the commonwealth, with reference to the results of the Ottawa conference.
- ROLLESTON, C. H. (comp.) and D'EGVILLE, Sir HOWARD (ed.). *Visit and conference of delegates of the Empire Parliamentary Association from the overseas legislatures of the empire during the year of the silver jubilee of H.M. King George V, 1935: An account of the visit*. London: Empire Parliamentary Assoc. Pp. 104.
- WEBER, GISELA. *National-und Imperialprotektionismus in England*. Inaugural dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde genehmigt von der Philosophischen Fakultät der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin. Berlin: Triltsch & Huther. 1935. Pp. 79. To be reviewed later.

### II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- Canada and the league: How far should Canada go?* by A. R. M. LOWER; *Responsibility to the league* by L. W. MOFFIT (Country guide, XXIX (1), Jan., 1936, 10, 26, 27). Two opposing views on the dominion's foreign policy.
- Canada and the organization of the world community: Ten round table discussions* (Interdependence, League of Nations Soc. in Canada, XIII (1 and 2), 1936, 1-143). Discussions on: "Canada's foreign policy: Will it involve us in war?"; "A policy of isolation for Canada"; "A policy of world-wide co-operation?"; "Sanctions"; "Substitutes for war"; "The colonial problem"; "The actual issue: Balance of power or collective security"; by Sir ROBERT FALCONER, J. M. MACDONNELL, N. A. M. MACKENZIE, CLIFFORD SIFTON, A. R. M. LOWER, H. F. ANGUS, BROOKE CLAXTON, P. E. CORBETT, and others. Also five conferences on: "La paix par le droit"; "Guerre à la guerre"; "Notre droit à la paix"; "Ou allons-nous?"
- Canada and world affairs* (Round table, no. 103, June, 1936, 599-602). A statement of Canadian opinion on the German remilitarization of the Rhineland.
- Canada, Dominion of, Secretary of state for external affairs. *Report for the year ended December 31, 1935*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1936. Pp. 27.

CLARK, ROBERT CARLTON. *The diplomatic mission of Sir John Rose, 1871* (Pacific northwest quar., XXVII (3), July, 1936, 227-42). The subject of this paper is the mission of Sir John Rose to Washington, in connection with the treaty of Washington, covering the days January 9 to February 2, 1871. The author indicates in what ways the correspondence of the British foreign office, now available, supplements or modifies the existing accounts.

IGNATIEFF, NICHOLAS. *Does Canada need to care?* (Canadian comment, V (5), May, 1936, 11-3). Comments on Canada's concern in world affairs.

MATTHEWS, R. C. *Basis of international relations broadened by understanding* (Board of trade jour., Toronto, XXVI (5), May, 1936, 3-4). An address on various phases of Canadian-American relations delivered in Washington before the convention of United States' chambers of commerce.

MEIGHEN, ARTHUR. *Says Canada should support the league* (Maclean's mag., Feb. 15, 1936, 30).

UNDERHILL, FRANK H. *Canadian policy in a war world* (Canadian forum, XVI (186), July, 1936, 6-7).

### III. HISTORY OF CANADA

#### (1) General History

ACHARD, EUGÈNE. *Les Northmans en Amérique. I: Les Vikings des Grandes Étapes.* (Collection du Zodiaque '35.) Montréal: Déom. 1935. Pp. 267. (\$1.00) To be reviewed later.

BREBNER, J. B. *Die Erforscher von Nordamerika.* Leipzig: Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag. 1936. Pp. 338. (M. 7.50)

CARTER, CLARENCE EDWIN (comp. and ed.). *The territorial papers of the United States. Vol. IV: The territory south of the river Ohio, 1790-1796.* Washington: Government Printing Office. 1936. Pp. ix, 517. (\$1.75) To be reviewed later.

CLARKE, DENNIS. *Public school explorers in Newfoundland.* London: Putnam. [1935.] Pp. xii, 294. (10s. 6d.) Describes expedition to Newfoundland of 1934.

HAYWARD, H. O'B. *The Oxford University Greenland expedition, 1935* (Geographical jour., LXXXVIII (2), Aug., 1936, 148-62). An account of the expedition in 1935 to the great Søndre Strømfjord, on the west coast of Greenland, by a party from the Oxford University Exploration Club.

HOLAND, HJALMAR R. *Concerning the Kensington rune stone* (Minnesota history, XVII (2), June, 1936, 166-88). An answer to Professor L. M. Larson's paper attacking the authenticity of the Kensington stone in *Minnesota history* for March, 1936.

JAMES, GEORGE MOFFAT. *A postage stamp romance and history of Canadian stamps, 1851 to 1882.* Belleville, Ont.: James Texts. 1935. Pp. 12. (10c.)

LOUIS-LEGASSE, FERDINAND. *Evolution économique des îles Saint-Pierre et Miquelon.* Paris: Sirey. 1935. Pp. 182.

MARSH, HARRIET A. and MARSH, FLORENCE A. *History of Detroit for young people.* Privately Printed. Chicago: Lakeside Press. 1935. Pp. xxiv, 400. (\$2.50) This is an excellent volume, clearly printed, profusely and delightfully illustrated, and written in a simple, happy style calculated to stimulate the interest of school-children in history. The descriptions of the social and business life, and of the everyday affairs of the early French colonists, should be of interest not only to children in Detroit but to all young students of the history of New France. Chapters on "The Indians and the coming of the white men", "The founding of Detroit", "French occupancy", "The colonial wars", "The siege of Detroit", "Detroit during the American revolution" (where the story is impartially told), "The Northwest

territory", and "The war of 1812", are recommended to teachers of Canadian history in Canada. In an appendix several songs of the *voyageurs* and *coureurs de bois* are printed (with music); there is a bibliography of secondary sources; and a good index.

MONTGOMERY, L. M., KEITH, MARIAN, MCKINLEY, MABEL BURNS. *Courageous women*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1934. Pp. vi, 203. Brief conversational chapters on Laura Secord; Catharine Parr Traill; Madeleine de Verchères; Ada May Courtice (first president of Home and School Council of Toronto); Caroline Macdonald; Elizabeth Louise Mair; Anna J. Gaudin (missionary to the Indians); Sadie Stringer (wife of Bishop Stringer of the Arctic); "Canada's queen of song: Madame Albani"; Pauline Johnson; "A leader in education: Aletta Elise Marty"; Margaret Polson Murray, who founded the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire; Lady Tilley (wife of Sir Leonard Tilley); and Marshall Saunders.

Newfoundland: *Report by the commission of government on the work of the commission*. (Cmd. 5117.) London: H.M.S.O. Jan., 1936. (6d.)

PACIFIQUE, R. P. *Études historiques et géographiques*. Ristigouche, P.Q.: Chez l'auteur. 1935. Pp. 321, 36. To be reviewed later.

ROSE, J. HOLLAND. *Man and the sea: Stages in maritime and human progress*. Cambridge: W. Heffer. 1935. Pp. xi, 288. (10s. 6d.) To be reviewed later.

RUMILLY, ROBERT. *Artisans du miracle canadien: Régime anglais*. (Figures canadiennes.) Montréal: Lévesque. 1936. Pp. 168. (75c.) Radio addresses on Pierre Bédard, Charles-Michel de Salaberry, Louis-Joseph Papineau, Ludger Duvernay, Etienne Parent, Louis-Hippolyte Lafontaine, Auguste-Norbert Morin, François-Xavier Garneau, Mgr Bourget, George-Etienne Cartier, Mgr Taché, Louis Riel, Mgr Langevin, Adolphe Chapleau, Honoré Mercier, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Le curé Labelle, Louis Fréchette, Mgr Grouard.

SPENCER, J. B. *Canadian floral emblems* (Agricultural and industrial progress in Canada, XVIII (7), July, 1936, 100-1). A brief note on the native floral emblems of Nova Scotia (trailing arbutus), Manitoba (*Anemone patiens*), Alberta (wild rose), and Ontario (*trillium grandiflorum*).

WALLACE, W. STEWART (ed.). *The encyclopedia of Canada*. Vol. III: *Gabarus-Laurierville*. Toronto: Univ. Associates of Canada. [Murray Pr. Co.] 1936. Pp. vi, 396. See June, 219.

## (2) New France

BATTIFOL, LOUIS. *Les français dans l'ancien Canada* (Revue bleue politique et littéraire, Paris, 72e année, no. 22, 17 nov., 1934, 848-52).

BOLDUC, EVELYN. *Allons au jardin* (Civil service news, XIV (4), April, 1936, 138-43). Contains information about plants and vegetables of New France.

CROFF, E. *Une page oubliée de notre petite histoire: La descente des Anglais à la pointe de la Rivière-Ouelle (1690)* (Canada français, XXIII (10), juin, 1936, 954-7). A romantic description of an episode in the history of New France.

*Lettre de l'intendant Bochart Champigny au ministre* (B.R.H., XLII (8), août, 1936, 499-500). Dated "Villemarie, 26 août 1687"; refers to war against the Iroquois. Transcribed from Quebec Archives.

*Lettre du ministre au gouverneur de Vaudreuil* (B.R.H., XLII (8), août, 1936, 480-2). Dated "Versailles, le 14 juin 1704", containing advice and instructions concerning the Indians, etc.; transcribed from Quebec Archives.

LOTURE, R. de. *Le siège de Louisbourg en 1758* (Revue maritime, Paris, juillet, 1934, 52-70).

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Coffres, portemanteaux, sacs, et valises d'autrefois* (B.R.H., XLII (7), juillet, 1936, 393-5).

*Montcalm's victory* (Fort Ticonderoga Museum bul., IV (2), July, 1936, 43-7). One of the best accounts (reprinted herein) of the action at Ticonderoga, July 8, 1758, between British and colonial troops under General James Abercromby and the French and Canadians under the Marquis de Montcalm, is contained in a little pamphlet called *A short account of the life, travels and adventures of Garrett Albertson*, Sr. published in 1845.

MORIN, VICTOR. *La date de la fondation de Montréal* (B.R.H., XLII (6), juin, 1936, 362-72; (7), juillet, 396-410).

SAVILLE, MARSHALL H. *Champlain and his landings at Cape Ann, 1605-1606* (American Antiquarian Soc. proceedings, Worcester, n.s. XLIII, 1933 (1934), 447-69).

SAVER, F. R. *The velvet siege of Beauséjour* (Canadian comment, V (8), Aug., 1936, 8, 27).

WEBSTER, J. C. (ed.) *The siege of Beauséjour in 1755: A journal of the attack on Beauséjour written by Jacau de Fiedmont artillery officer and acting engineer at the fort.* Translated by ALICE WEBSTER. (Historical studies no. 1, Publications of the New Brunswick Museum.) Saint John, N.B.: Printed by Tribune Press, Sackville, N.B. 1936. Pp. 42. "Jacau de Fiedmont's *Journal de l'attaque de Beauséjour* is one of the most important documents known to historians relating to the siege and fall of Beauséjour. It was not written for publication, but was a Report prepared by the author immediately after his participation in the conflict and sent to M. de Surlaville, his former superior officer in Louisbourg, who had returned to France. . . . It is almost entirely an account of military conditions and operations. . . . The French text from which this translation has been made appeared in the 9th volume of documents belonging to M. de Nicolai (Levis papers), published at Quebec in 1895 under the direction of the Abbé Casgrain." The brochure is illustrated with views and plans of Fort Beauséjour. The editor and translator, as well as the New Brunswick Museum, are to be congratulated on an excellent piece of scholarly work.

### (3) British North America before 1867

*Adresse des Iroquois du Lac des Deux-Montagnes à Mgr de Forbin Janson (1er février 1841)* (B.R.H., XLII (7), juillet, 1936, 437-9).

*British maps of the American revolution: A guide to an exhibit in the William L. Clements Library.* (Bul. XXIV of the William L. Clements Library.) Ann Arbor: 1936. Pp. 23. The maps included in this exhibition were made by, or after the surveys of, British engineers. They were engraved and published in London, in some cases within two or three months of the time the actual battle took place, and as source-material on the revolution are of very great importance. Of particular interest are: *Plan of the city and environs of Quebec, with its siege and blockade by the Americans* (1776); *The attack and defeat of the American fleet under Benedict Arnold, by the Kings fleet . . . upon Lake Champlain, the 11th. of October, 1776* (1776); *Plan of the position which the army under Lt. Gen. Burgoine took at Saratoge on the 10th of September 1777* (1780). Explanatory historical remarks help the reader to interpret the information on the maps.

BRONNER, FREDERICK L. *Marinus Willett* (New York history, XVII (3), July, 1936, 273-80). The career of an officer in the revolutionary army, who accompanied Montgomery's expedition to Canada.

CALDWELL, E. L. *John Graves Simcoe: The first lieutenant-governor of Ontario* (Canadian defence quar., XLII (3), April, 1936, 327-45). A résumé of his life and work in North America.

CAREY, CHARLES H. *A general history of Oregon.* Vol. II. Portland: Metropolitan Press. 1936. Pp. 499. (\$3.50) In this volume the section on the Oregon boundary is of special interest to Canadians.

- CORMACK, MARIBELLE. *Runner of the trail: A mystery of the Hudson Bay Company*. Ill. by ROBERT KIMBALL STEPHENS. Toronto: Ryerson. 1935. Pp. xi, 242. (\$2.25)
- EDMONDS, WALTER D. *Drums along the Mohawk*. Boston: Little, Brown. 1936. Pp. 592. (\$2.50) A novel of the American revolution in the Mohawk valley.
- Les exilés canadiens à la Nouvelle-Galles* (B.R.H., XLII (8), août, 1936, 496-8). A letter dated "Londres, 20 novembre 1840" from Joseph Hume concerning the prisoners of the rebellion of 1837 who were sent to Van Dieman's land.
- The expedition of Colonel John B. Campbell of the 19th U.S. Infantry in Nov. 1812 from Franklinton to the Mississinewa Indian villages: Manuscript of Ashley Brown, a descendant of Henry Brown, the early Dayton merchant and contractor in war of 1812* (Hist. Soc. of Northwestern Ohio quar. bul., VIII (1), Jan., 1936, [1-6]).
- Les funérailles du duc de Richmond* [Sept., 1819] (B.R.H., XLII (8), août, 1936, 511-2).
- GARRATT, G. T. *Lord Brougham*. London: Macmillan. [Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada.] 1935. Pp. viii, 354. (\$4.50) See p. 340.
- GOWER, R. H. G. LEVESON. *Voyages for discovery of the Northwest passage* (Beaver, outfit 267, no. 1, June, 1936, 45-9). Carries story to end of first half of 18th century.
- JOHNSON, ROBERT C. *John McLoughlin: Patriarch of the northwest*. Portland, Oregon: Metropolitan Press. 1935. Pp. [xii], 304. (\$2.50) To Oregonians, Dr. John McLoughlin has become a great tradition. He stands forth as the Christian gentleman whose "life portrays rich contrasts of fortune and adversity, of power and humiliation, of benevolence and persecution". Mr. Johnson's volume, based upon the biography of F. V. Holman, re-enforced from the documents and publications of the Oregon Historical Society, is thoroughly orthodox in its treatment. It owes little to original research, but is pleasantly, and in places graphically, written. The author, a native of Oregon, is a journalist who has had over forty-five years' experience on the Pacific coast. There are, unfortunately, certain slips and inaccuracies (e.g., on p. 8, Alexander MacKenzie "descended the Fraser to ocean in 1793"), but Mr. Johnson has a genuine feeling for the history of "Old Oregon" as well as a sincere love for Dr. McLoughlin. His attitude toward the Hudson's Bay Company is fair and unbiased. One wonders, however, if he really substantiates his claim that McLoughlin by his benevolence to the American settlers averted war between Great Britain and the United States during the jingo years of "Fifty-four-forty-or-fight". [W. N. SAGE]
- The journals of Sir George Simpson, 1820-1860, based upon his letters now in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company* (Beaver, outfit 267, no. 1, June, 1936, 33).
- KIRKLAND, FREDERIC R. *Journal of Lewis Beebe: A physician on the campaign against Canada, 1776*. Philadelphia: Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania. 1935. Pp. viii, 37. This journal, which gives a valuable insight into conditions and life in the revolutionary army, and information concerning medical practice, transportation, etc., is here published for the first time. There is an excellent preface by the editor, in which he points out that Dr. Beebe's journal is one of the earliest documents which comments unfavourably upon the character and integrity of Benedict Arnold.
- A letter: The Earl of Hillsborough, secretary of the colonies to Sir Henry Moore, royal governor of the province of New York* (Fort Ticonderoga Museum bul., IV (2), July, 1936, 34-41). A letter showing the disturbed condition in the colonies seven years before the outbreak of the war of the revolution. The original is in the library of the museum.
- LONGLEY, RONALD STEWART. *Francis Hincks, Canadian politician and statesman* (Harvard Univ., Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Summaries of theses accepted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of phil-



osophy, 1934, 169-71). This thesis not only stresses the constitutional phase of the period between the MacKenzie-Papineau rebellion and the formation of the second LaFontaine-Baldwin ministry, but places it in its proper relation to the financial and economic development of early Canada.

LUGRIN, I. de BERTRAND. *The capture of A-Chu-Wun* (Policing B.C. series, no. 4) (Maclean's mag., Jan. 15, 1936, 25, 44-5). The story of the chief of the Penelakits, a branch of the Cowichan tribe, in 1863.

MAYER, JOSEPHINE. *The reminiscences of James Gordon with preface and biographical sketch* (New York history, XVII (3), July, 1936, 316-33). The first instalment of the reminiscences of James Gordon who came to America from Ireland in 1758 and who wrote of his experiences as an Indian trader in the Mohawk valley and as a sutler to Major Robert Rogers's corps of rangers when that body lay in winter quarters at Crown Point and when they took part in the advance against Canada. The manuscript containing the reminiscences is in the possession of Mrs. William Gordon Verplanck of New York City.

MONAGHAN, FRANK. *John Jay: Defender of liberty*. New York and Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill. 1935. Pp. 497. (\$4.00) Jay played an important part in the diplomacy of the American revolution, in the negotiation of the peace of 1783 and the treaty that goes by his name, and in the politics of the state of New York. In all these respects his career touches Canadian history. Mr. Monaghan has written a readable biography and made use of some new materials but he has added little to the points which are of special interest to readers of this REVIEW.

MORLEY, FRANK VIGOR. *War paint: A story of adventure*. London: Faber. 1935. Pp. 348. (7s. 6d.) A story of the early days of the fur-trade in British Columbia.

MULLALLY, EMMET J. *Dr. Daniel Tracey, a pioneer worker for responsible government in Canada* (Canadian Catholic Hist. Assoc. report, 1934-1935, 33-45). Information concerning an Irish physician, founder of a newspaper in Montreal in 1823 (*The Vindicator*), who was imprisoned for libel by order of the legislative council at Quebec; and elected to the legislative assembly of Lower Canada.

NOLAN, J. BENNETT. *General Benjamin Franklin: The military career of a philosopher*. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press. London: Humphrey Milford. Oxford Univ. Press. 1936. Pp. [x], 101. (\$1.50) To be reviewed later.

PARIZEAU, GÉRARD. *Mon ami Étienne Parent* (L'Action universitaire, Montréal, II (3), fev., 1936, 50-1, 64). An account of a French-Canadian journalist and patriot (1801-74).

PATTERSON, H. S. "54° 40' or fight" (Beaver, outfit 267, no. 1, June, 1936, 38-44). An account of the reports of Lieutenant Henry J. Warre and M. Vavasour, who were sent in 1845 to consider the feasibility of sending troops overland through the Rocky mountains to the Oregon boundary.

SHERMAN, WALTER J. *Why were the principal land operations of the war of 1812 along the south shore of Lake Erie?* (Hist. Soc. of Northwestern Ohio quar. bul., VIII (1), Jan., 1936, [7-9]).

SIEBERT, WILBUR H. *General Washington and the loyalists* (American Antiquarian Soc. proceedings, Worcester, n.s. XLIII, 1933 (1934), 34-48).

UPTON, RICHARD FRANCIS. *Revolutionary New Hampshire: An account of the social and political forces underlying the transition from royal province to American commonwealth*. Hanover: Dartmouth College Publications. 1936. Pp. xvi, 276. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.

YON, ARMAND. *L'odyssée de la "Capricieuse" ou comment la France découvrit de nouveau le Canada en 1855* (Canada français, XXIII (9), mai, 1936, 837-56). A chapter in the history of French-Canadian relations with France.

## (4) The Dominion of Canada

- ACLAND, ERIC and BARTLETT, ERNEST H. *Long live the king: George V—king and emperor, prince and sovereign—Edward VIII.* Toronto: John C. Winston Co. 1936. Pp. v, 375. (\$2.00) This popular and entertaining biography of George V and Edward VIII was written by two Canadian journalists for the Canadian people. The authors, in their effort to stress the Canadian point of view, have dwelt upon the various royal tours through Canada; the relations of George V with the Canadian soldiers during the Great War; the place of the crown in the empire; and the late king's radio broadcasts. There is little new material in the volume; many of the anecdotes have been told before. The book is illustrated with a number of well-known photographs.
- BAIRD-SMITH, A. *Two empire frontiers* (with maps) (Army quar., XXXII (1), April, 1936, 110-5). A cursory discussion of the frontier problems of India and of Canada from the military aspect.
- Die Bedeutung der Weltwirtschaftskrise für Kanada* (Vierteljahrshefte zur Statistik des Deutschen Reichs, XLIV, 4 Heft, 1936, 121-36).
- Canada. Dominion-provincial conference, 1935. *Record of proceedings, Ottawa, December 9-13, 1935.* Ottawa. King's Printer. 1936. Pp. 74.
- Canadian cavalcade mag.*, I (2), May, 1936. Contains articles on: "Who'll lead tories?" by JOHN SNODGRASS; "Where is Stevens?" by LLOYD ROBERTS; "Ontario gov't borrowing" by R. E. KNOWLES, jr.; the C.N.R. by BRIAN BATHURST; "Will Confederation continue" by THOMAS WAYLING.
- DAWSON, R. MACGREGOR. *The Canadian civil service* (C.J.E.P.S., II (3), Aug., 1936, 288-300). This paper points out that many of the fundamental ideas on which the existing Canadian civil service is built are proving to be unsatisfactory.
- DREW, GEORGE A. *Our bow-and-arrow army* (Maclean's mag., May 15, 1936, 19, 54-5, 57-8). Lieut.-Col. Drew charges that the Canadian defence forces are inefficiently organized, badly equipped, and have very little opportunity for carrying out training that would fit them for modern conditions of warfare.
- FOREST, T. R. P. CESLAS. *La question juive au Canada.* (Extrait de la *Revue Dominicaine*.) Montréal: L'Oeuvre de Presse Dominicaine. 1935. Pp. 52. (10c.) A study of the position of the Jew in Canada.
- GOLDENBERG, H. CARL. "Americanization" of Canada (Fortnightly, no. 834, n.s., June, 1936, 688-95).
- MACBETH, MADGE and WHITE, LESLIE T. *The seven justices of the red robes: A quick sketch of Canada's supreme court* (Maclean's mag., April 1, 1936, 26, 44, 46).
- Neighbors to the north* (Current history, July, 1936, 71-83). Four articles on Canada: "Utopia evades Alberta" by STEVEN CARTWRIGHT; "Canada's new dealers" by GRANT DEXTER; "Reciprocity" by B. K. SANDWELL; "Canada bids for air routes".
- Political affairs* (Round table, no. 103, June, 1936, 602-12). An outline of the programme of the 1st session of the 18th parliament of Canada, 1936.
- ROZ, FIRMIN et PRÉCLIN, E. *L'influence de la France sur la vie intellectuelle des Canadiens-anglais et des États-Unis: Langue, culture, littérature et mouvement des idées* (France-Amérique, no. 292, avril, 1936, 89-91).
- SCHAEFER, HANS. *Die deutsch-kanadischen Wirtschaftsbeziehungen seit Beendigung des Weltkrieges unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der kanadischen Wirtschaftsentwicklung.* Euskirchen, Doepgen. 1934. Pp. xiii, 188.

- STACEY, C. P. *The Fenian troubles and Canadian military development, 1865-1871* (Canadian defence quar., XIII (3), April, 1936, 270-9). Draws attention to a few of the more important features of the Fenian episode and their relation to the dominion's military development.
- STANLEY, GEORGE F. G. *The birth of western Canada: A history of the Riel rebellions*. With maps and illustrations. London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green. 1936. Pp. xiv, 475. (\$4.50) To be reviewed later.
- WILLCOCKS, Sir WILLIAM. *Sixty years in the east*. London: Blackwood. 1935. Pp. 338. (15s.) One chapter deals with "Canada, 1912".
- WRIGHT, C. P. *A platform of boards* (Canadian forum, XVI (186), July, 1936, 8-10). An examination of the national employment commission, the proposed reorganization of the management of the C.N.R., and the government's policy for the assumption of public control over the directorate of the Bank of Canada.

#### IV. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

##### (1) The Maritime Provinces

- BAILEY, ALFRED G. *The British dominions, Canada*. No. V: *New Brunswick* (Landmark, Monthly mag. of English-Speaking Union, XVIII (8), Aug., 1936, 457-64).
- CAMPBELL, G. G. *Fort Ellis, Colchester county* (Nova Scotia Hist. Soc. collections, XXIII, 1936, 81-8). The story of the fort erected in 1761 at the confluence of the Stewiacke and Shubenacadie rivers, N.S.
- Canada, Department of the interior, National parks of Canada. *Guide to Fort Anne, Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia*. Ed. 6 (rev.). Ottawa: King's Printer. 1933. Pp. 16.
- Catalogue of exhibits in the Fort Beauséjour National Park Museum*. Prepared by J. C. WEBSTER. (Canada, Department of the interior.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1936. Pp. 12.
- COMEAU, F. G. J. *The origin and history of the apple industry in Nova Scotia* (Nova Scotia Hist. Soc. collections, XXIII, 1936, 15-40).
- GESNER, ABRAHAM. *First report on the geology of Grand Manan*. (Grand Manan historian, no. III.) Ed. by BUCHANAN CHARLES. Grand Manan Island, N.B.: Grand Manan Hist. Soc. 1936. Pp. vi, 10. (35c.) Dr. Gesner was provincial geologist of New Brunswick from 1838 to 1843, and visited Grand Manan in the summer of 1839. His account of the island appeared in the *First report of the geological survey of New Brunswick*, published by that province at Saint John in 1839. It gives an excellent description of Grand Manan, and its observations upon the life of the island in 1839 add to its importance.
- HAYDEN, FLORENTINE H. *An artist in the Maritimes* (Canadian geographical jour., XII (4), April, 1936, 193-9). Fifty years ago two New Englanders, an artist, Florentine H. Hayden, and her literary friend Anna L. Ward, travelled around Nova Scotia, along the bay of Fundy side of New Brunswick, and across the strait of Northumberland to Prince Edward Island; their combined impressions of life as it was in the Maritime Provinces at that time have been embodied in the interesting sketches and notes that are published herein.
- HILL, ROBERT W. *Bowen's "View of the Bay of Hallsfax, 1759"* (New York Public Library bul., XL (5), May, 1936, 419-20). A note on one of Ashley Bowen's watercolours which has recently been given to the New York Public Library.
- LENOIR, Mrs. P. H. *Reminiscences of a Halifax centenarian* (Nova Scotia Hist. Soc. collections, XXIII, 1936, 1-13). As told to Mrs. William Dennis and read by her before the Nova Scotia Historical Society, March 15, 1934.

MARTELL, J. S. *The new Nova Scotians* (Jour. of Education for Nova Scotia, VII (3), April-May, 1936, 386-90). An examination of contemporary opinions of the Nova Scotians in the decades following the war of 1812.

Nova Scotia Historical Society. *Collections*. Vol. XXIII. Halifax: Printed for the society by the Imperial Pub. Co. 1936. Pp. xviii, 135. The historical papers printed herein are listed separately in this bibliography.

PATTERSON, F. H. *Old Cobequid and its destruction* (Nova Scotia Hist. Soc. collections, XXIII, 1936, 49-80). The history of the Acadian settlements of Cobequid and their destruction in 1755.

PIERS, HARRY. *Fort Clarence at Imperoyal* (Imperial oil rev., XX (1), Feb.-March, 1936, 3-7). A descriptive history of Fort Clarence, near Dartmouth, N.S., by the curator of the Provincial Museum at Halifax.

STEEVES, HELEN HARPER. *George McCall Theal* (Dalhousie rev., XVI (2), July, 1936, 171-5). An account of a citizen of Saint John, N.B., who emigrated to Cape Colony in the 1850's and became a distinguished South African historian.

WHIDDEN, DAVID GRAHAM. *The history of the town of Antigonish*. Wolfville, N.S.: The author. 1934. Pp. 209.

## (2) The Province of Quebec

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Isle aux Coudres* (Canadian geographical jour., XII (4), April, 1936, 201-11). A study of life on Isle aux Coudres in the St. Lawrence river.

1936. Pp. [x]. 167. (\$2.75) To be reviewed later.

Quebec, where ancient France lingers. Ill. by Marjorie Borden. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1936. Pp. [x], 173. (\$2.50) To be reviewed later.

BLANCHARD, RAOUL. *Études canadiennes: Québec, esquisse de géographie urbaine* (Revue de géographie alpine, Grenoble, XXII, 1934, 261-414).

Canada, Department of the interior, National parks of Canada. *Fort Chambly, Chambly, Quebec: A brief history of the famous Fort Chambly, the second frontier of the Richelieu river, built originally of wood in 1665 by Captain Jacques de Chambly, officer of the Régiment de Carignan, as defence against the Iroquois savages, and in 1709 rebuilt of stone to resist the advance of the British forces*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1932. Pp. 14.

Fort Lennox, Ile aux Noix, Quebec. *A brief history of the island fortress on the Richelieu river. Battle ground of contending nations for the possession of Canada in the eighteenth century and built by the British at immense cost during the early years of the nineteenth century*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1936. Pp. 16.

*Le chevalier George Manly Muir* (B.R.H., XLII (6), juin, 1936, 360-1). A note on a public figure in Quebec (1807-82).

COX, LEO. *River without end* (Canadian geographical jour., XIII (2), June, 1936, 83-95). An illustrated guide to the St. Lawrence river.

DAVELUY, MARIE-CLAIRE. *Marie Le Neuf* (Action universitaire, Montréal, II (7), juin, 1936, 128, 142). A sketch of one of the earliest citizens of Three Rivers.

*Deuxième bataillon de milice du comté de Québec (1839)* (B.R.H., XLII (8), août, 1936, 459-60). A list of names.

*Joseph-Antoine Obry* (B.R.H., XLII (8), août, 1936, 501-2). A note on a Canadian lawyer of the second half of the 18th century.

- MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Les chantiers Cantin, à Montréal* (B.R.H., XLII (8), août, 1936, 509-10). A note on a former district in Montreal and on Augustin Cantin the ship-builder who gave it its name.
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- *Deux grands négociants* (B.R.H., XLII (6), juin, 1936, 339-40). Notes on two 19th-century merchants, Jean-Baptiste and Louis Renaud.
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- *Les horlogers Twiss et autres* (B.R.H., XLII (8), août, 1936, 453-5). Concerning some clock-makers in 19th-century Montreal.
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- *Les registrateurs de Montréal depuis 1842* (B.R.H., XLII (6), juin, 1936, 324-35). With biographical notes.
- Le millionnaire Jean-George Pozer* (B.R.H., XLII (6), juin, 1936, 358-9). A note on a Quebec millionaire of the 18th century.
- One-hundredth annual report of the St. Andrew's Society of Montreal, 1835-1935*. Montreal: Nov. 1, 1934-Oct. 31, 1935. Pp. 46. Includes "The centennial story of the St. Andrew's Society of Montreal, 1835-1935", compiled from the records by Mr. JOHN SHEARER.
- QUINN, PETER (pseud.). *Meet Quebec's fascists!* (New frontier, I (5), Sept., 1936, 5-8). The first part of an analysis of fascism in Quebec.
- RIVARD, ADJUTOR. *Quelques facteurs essentiels de la survivance française au Canada*. III: *La langue française agent de survivance française au Canada* (France-Amérique, no. 292, avril, 1936, 83-5).
- R[OY], P.-G. *L'hôtel Malhiot, rue Saint-Jean, à Québec* (B.R.H., XLII (8), août, 1936, 449-52). Historical notes on Malhiot's hotel in Quebec city.
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- *La première poudrière ou magasin à poudre à Québec* (B.R.H., XLII (7), juillet, 1936, 385-92).
- Les seigneuries de Jean Bourdon* (B.R.H., XLII (6), juin, 1936, 336-8). Notes on seignories of Rivière-au-Griffon, Dautré or Dautray, Dombourg, Neuville or Pointe-aux-Trembles, Malbaie, Saint-François, and Saint Jean.
- SMITH, OLIVE WILLET. *Gaspé the romantique*. With drawings by VIVIAN MOIR. New York: Crowell. 1936. Pp. 156. (\$2.00) The author, a Gaspésian herself, takes us with her on a motor-tour around the Gaspé peninsula, starting at St. Flavie in Rimouski county, to Matapedia in Bonaventure county, following the south shore of the peninsula along the bay of Chaleur to Gaspé in the county of Gaspé Sud; then along the north shore of the peninsula, following the St. Lawrence river through the counties of Gaspé Nord and Metane back to St. Flavie. On the way she draws our attention to the historical points, the old seignories, the farms and villages, the fishing hamlets, the birds and rivers and trees and wild flowers, and tells us the history and legends and traditions and customs of Gaspé. The book is charmingly illustrated with pen and ink sketches by Vivian Moir, and there are a number of interesting full-page photographs. It is recommended to every tourist who is planning to motor through Gaspé.
- TUCKERMANN, WALTHER. *Die Orleansinsel im Lorenzstrom, eines der aeltesten Siedlungszentren im franzoesischen Kanada* (Koloniale Rundschau, Berlin, XXVII, March, 1936 123-35). A well-informed, though somewhat dry, article on the early settlement of the island of Orleans. There is a good background dealing with all essential geographical questions of the island and attention is devoted to economic problems. The author attributes the decline of population to the opening of new areas of settlement in the province of Quebec. There are some useful remarks on agriculture and architecture. [L. HAMILTON]
- TUPPER, CHARLES A. *Two centuries in Oka* (Canadian geographical jour., XII (4), April, 1936, 213-20). A descriptive account of the village and monastery of Oka, on the Ottawa river, P.Q.
- WILSON, F. J. *Canada's Ireland* (Queen's quar., XLIII (2), summer, 1936, 201-3). A note on the separatist movement in the province of Quebec.

**(3) The Province of Ontario**

Canada, Department of the interior, National parks of Canada. *Fort Wellington, Prescott, Ontario: A brief history of the famous Fort Wellington and other historic sites in its immediate vicinity adjacent to the beautiful St. Lawrence river.* Ottawa: King's Printer. N.d. Pp. 23.

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*The Lake Erie cross erected July, 1922. A brief history of the discovery and occupation of the north shore of Lake Erie (1660-1670) by the Sulpician priests François Dollier de Casson and René de Bréhaut de Galinée, who on March 23, 1670, erected a cross, at the foot of which they affixed a procès-verbal, with the arms of France, thus taking possession in the name of their king.* Ottawa: King's Printer. 1934. Pp. 15.

DUFF, LOUIS BLAKE. *From Tonti to today* (Canadian chemistry and metallurgy, XX (5), May, 1936, 141-2, 144). Interesting sidelights on the beginnings of industry in the Niagara peninsula.

GORDON, W. A. *Sandhills of Houghton* (Canadian geographical jour., XII (4), April, 1936, 221-4). A brief historical description of sand hills in Norfolk county, Ontario, on the coast of Lake Erie.

*Haldimand county hist. rev.* Vol. II. April 15, 1936. Pp. 8 (mimeo.). Contains notes and articles on: Dr. George Sherk, a pioneer doctor of the county; the diary of Dr. Harrison of Selkirk; early history of the Jarvis district; etc.

*Nottawasaga: "The outburst of the Iroquois".* Hist. Committee, Nottawasaga Centennial Celebration. 1934. Pp. 122. (25c.) This little booklet was written in connection with the centennial celebration of the first settlements in the township of Nottawasaga, Ontario. It consists of a miscellaneous collection of stories of the pioneers, of the development of the settlements, and of the churches and schools and public services.

SCOTT, W. L. *The Macdonells of Leek, Collachie and Aberchaldy* (Canadian Catholic Hist. Assoc. report, 1934-1935, 22-32). An introduction to the original Scottish Catholic settlers of Glengarry county, Ontario.

TAYLOR, FRANCES BEATRICE. *The lost road of Gairbraid* (Canadian mag., LXXXVI (2), Aug., 1936, 24, 38). The story of the vanished hamlet of Gairbraid on the Minnetung river, near Goderich, Ontario.

*Twenty-five years of Women's Institute activities in East Simcoe.* With a foreword by J. R. HALE. Orillia: Orillia Packet and Times. 1935. Pp. 31. A record of the outstanding activities of the Women's Institute of East Simcoe, Ontario, and the excellent work that it is doing in the rural communities.

WHITAKER, R. *Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan and Ontario* (Geographical Soc. of Philadelphia bul., XXXII, 1934, 75-87).

**(4) The Prairie Provinces**

ANGUS, H. F. *The portent of social credit in Alberta* (Pacific affairs, IX (3), Sept., 1936, 381-7).

CHAPMAN, ETHEL. *The homesteaders.* London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co. [Toronto: Ryerson. 1936.] Pp. 252. (\$2.00) A novel which provides an excellent picture of pioneering and homesteading in northern Saskatchewan since 1931; by the associate editor of the *Farmer magazine*.

KNOX, H. C. *Lake Winnipeg* (Canadian geographical jour., XIII (1), May, 1936, 31-6). An illustrated historical description.

STEAD, ROBERT J. C. *Manitoba in the early eighties* (School, Ontario College of Education, XXIV (9), May, 1936, 753-7). Reminiscences of the early settlement of the country west of the Red river.

**(5) British Columbia and the North-west Coast**

CLOWES, CHARLES. *Old Barkerville* (Maclean's mag., April 15, 1936, 22, 55-6, 58-60). Reminiscences of the period 1863-8, when Williams creek in Cariboo was yielding millions in gold.

JONES, STEPHEN BARR. *Human occupance of the Bow Kicking Horse region in the Canadian Rocky mountains* (Harvard Univ., Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Summaries of theses accepted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy, 1934, 138-40). This dissertation contains descriptions of the cultural and natural landscapes of the region, comparisons with settlements in other parts of the Canadian Rocky mountains, discussion of the rôle of transportation in the settlement of the region, the tourist trade, etc.

*The Kootenay valley: A report on certain cases involving reclamation and the development of water power in the valley of the Kootenay river, under the terms of article IV of the treaty of January 11, 1909.* Heard before the international joint commission. Ottawa and Washington. 1935. Pp. 374. Contains a history of the region.

LUGRIN, N. de BERTRAND. *Bad Ben Kennedy* (Policing B.C. series, no. 5) (Maclean's mag., March 15, 1936, 18, 48, 50). An episode in the history of the provincial constabulary of British Columbia.

MCGEER, GERALD G. *Vancouver's golden jubilee* (Canadian geographical jour., XIII (1), May, 1936, 11-23). A number of excellent photographs of Vancouver with an historical and descriptive introduction by the mayor of the city.

MACLENNAN, CATHERINE MAE. *Rambling round Stanley park.* Toronto: Ryerson. 1935. Pp. 47. (\$1.25) An attractive little booklet describing a famous park in Vancouver.

ST. JOHN, R. MONRO. *Vancouver's fifty years* (Maclean's mag., April 1, 1936, 25, 30, 32).

Templeton Junior High School. *Vancouver, a short history by the archivists' club.* Vancouver, B.C.: Vancouver Sun. 1936. Pp. 32. See p. 346. Contains a bibliography of books, pamphlets, and articles on Vancouver.

*Vancouver News-herald*, April 24, 1936, is an anniversary number, celebrating Vancouver's golden jubilee. Articles on growth and development of British Columbia and its industries.

*Vancouver Sun*, jubilee ed., April 25, 1936, touches on numerous aspects of Vancouver's history and development.

**(6) North-west Territories, Labrador, and the Arctic Regions**

BLAKE, NORMAN. *In the grip of the barren lands.* Ill. by JOHN de WALTON. London and Glasgow: Blackie. N.d. Pp. 208. (2s.) A story for boys of how three scouts were carried in a balloon to the Arctic regions and spent a winter with a tribe of Eskimos.

BURPEE, LAWRENCE J. *Canada's awakening north* (National geographic mag., LXIX (6), June, 1936, 749-68). A profusely illustrated description of the development of the Peace river, Mackenzie river, Slave river country.

CAMERON, ALAN E. *South Nahanni river* (Canadian geographical jour., XIII (1), May, 1936, 37-43). An historical and descriptive account of the Nahanni rivers of the Mackenzie river system, N.W.T.

ELLS, S. C. *Portage la Loche* (Canadian geographical jour., XII (3), March, 1936, 135-42). An illustrated description of Portage la Loche, also known as Methye portage, the old gateway to the valley of the Athabaska and the Mackenzie river country, and closely identified with the history of exploration and the fur-trade.



FINNIE, RICHARD. *Lost in the Arctic* (Beaver, outfit 267, no. 1, June, 1936, 28-32, 66). The story of the Rev. J. H. Webster, Anglican missionary at Coppermine on the western Arctic coast, who was lost in the Arctic in 1931.

GODSELL, PHILIP H. *Klinkenberg—rover of the Arctic* (Winnipeg free press mag. sect., July 4, 1936, 5).

HELLENTHAL, J. A. *The Alaskan melodrama*. New York: Liveright Pub. Corporation. 1936. Pp. xiii, 312. (\$3.00) This volume includes a description of the geographic features of Alaska, its natives, historical background, and economic activities. It is a popular book on Alaska not free from inaccuracies. Aside from the description of the gold-rush on the Yukon, its chief interest for Canadians is in its elaborate attack on conservation. The attack has its obvious weaknesses but, on the other hand, it should be read and pondered over by every student of the subject. It is a protest against absentee bureaucratic control from Washington and a demand for more responsible government. This reviewer would have been more impressed if a discussion of the monopoly control of private interests in Alaska had been included. [H. A. INNIS]

HOLLAND, RUPERT SARGENT. *The sea scouts of Birch-bark island*. Ill. by WALTER PYLE. Philadelphia: Lippincott. Toronto: Copp Clark. 1936. Pp. 301. (\$2.25) An exciting and instructive story for boys of three sea scouts who get jobs on a fur-bearing steamship engaged in trade between Labrador and Hudson's Bay Company posts. They become icebound, make a camp on Baffin island, are marooned near an Eskimo camp, and learn to hunt seals, drive dog teams, and paddle Eskimo kayaks.

MILLER, MAX. *Fog and men on Bering sea*. Ill. with pictures mostly taken by BILL (ENSIGN A. E. HARNED) and by OLE (ENSIGN GEORGE OLSSON). New York: Dutton. 1936. Pp. 272. (\$3.00) An account of a trip on Bering sea on board the *Northland*, United States' government coast guard, with description of the numerous points visited and photographic illustrations.

SOPER, J. DEWEY. *The Lake Harbour region, Baffin island* (Geographical rev., XXVI (3), July, 1936, 426-38). The writer investigated this region in 1930 for the Canadian department of the interior; illustrated.

WASHBURN, BRADFORD. *Exploring Yukon's glacial stronghold* (National geographic mag., LXIX (6), June, 1936, 715-48). An illustrated account of the expedition, organized under the sponsorship of the National Geographic Society, to attempt the first crossing of the Saint Elias range and to map as completely as possible this unknown region of Canada eastward from the Alaskan boundary as far as the Alsek river.

## V. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

### (1) General

BRADY, A. *The Ontario hydro-electric power commission* (C.J.E.P.S., II (3), Aug., 1936, 331-53). A survey of its development and its relation with government and politics.

CUTHBERTSON, G. A. *The "Erik's" saga* (Beaver, outfit 267, no. 1, June, 1936, 52-3). Story of H.B.C. whaling and sealing ship.

EASTERBROOK, W. T. *Agricultural debt adjustment* (C.J.E.P.S., II (3), Aug., 1936, 390-403). A discussion of the nature and objectives of the machinery of agricultural debt adjustment in the Canadian west, the background against which it works, and some of the more important difficulties encountered in practice.

HERBERT, C. H. *A loan council for Canada: The Australian experience* (C.J.E.P.S., II (3), Aug., 1936, 354-73).

LONDON, FRED. *Agriculture among the Negro refugees in Upper Canada* (Jour. of Negro history, XXI (3), July, 1936, 304-12).

LOWER, A. R. M. *Settlement and the forest frontier in eastern Canada*. INNIS, HAROLD A. *Settlement and the mining frontier*. (Canadian frontiers of settlement ed. W. A. MACKINTOSH and W. L. G. JOERG, IX.) Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1936. Pp. xiv, 424. (\$4.50) To be reviewed later.

MARSH, L. C. *The Arcand Act: A new form of labour legislation?* (C.J.E.P.S., II (3), Aug., 1936, 404-19). A discussion of the Collective Labour Agreements Extension Act of the province of Quebec; followed by notes on similar legislation in Ontario (419-20) and Alberta (420-3) by M. FINDLAY and A. F. MCGOWN respectively.

MAXWELL, J. A. *The adjustment of federal-provincial financial relations* (C.J.E.P.S., II (3), Aug., 1936, 374-89). Some of the conclusions of this article will be developed more fully in a monograph by the author to be published shortly by the Harvard University Press.

PORSILD, ERLING. *The reindeer industry and the Canadian Eskimo* (Geographical jour., LXXXVIII (1), July, 1936, 1-19).

RATZ, BETTY. *United front in Toronto—1872* (New frontier, I (3), June, 1936, 18-20). An account of a labour issue in connection with the Master Printers' Association and the nine-hour day.

## (2) Communications

BONAR, JAMES C. *British Columbia and the imperial highway to the far east* (Municipal rev. of Canada, XXXII (7), Aug., 1936, 15-9). Observations on the construction of the C.P.R.

Canada, Department of railways and canals. *Churchill and the Hudson bay route*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1935. Pp. 48. An account of the history of Churchill and the Hudson bay route from 1610 to 1935; with illustrations and a map.

DAFOE, J. W. *Public utilities and administrative boards* (C.J.E.P.S., II (3), Aug., 1936, 317-30). A discussion of public control of public services, with special reference to the Canadian National Railways.

PHILLIPS, FRED H. *The Canada Eastern* (Canadian National Railways mag., XXII (7), July, 1936, 8-9). Information concerning railway-building in the Nashwaak and Miramichi valleys, N.B.

## (3) Geography

BUCHANAN, R. OGILVIE. *An economic geography of the British Empire*. With diagrams, maps, and plates. London: Univ. of London Press. 1935. Pp. x, 346. This is a clear, well-organized, well-printed text-book, suitable for the senior forms of schools and useful to the teacher of geography. The aim of the author was "to write a reasoned account of the Economic Geography of the British Empire. No attempt has been made to be encyclopaedic. The main economic activities have been picked out and emphasised, and treated in relation to the particular geographical conditions that have guided the nature and degree of their development." Part I consists of general considerations, including a review of imperial communications. Part II deals with the countries of the British Empire individually. Canada is studied under the headings: "Position and surface", "Climate and natural vegetation", "Agricultural and mining", "Power and manufacturing industries", and "Inland communications, commerce and ports". The index has been intelligently prepared.

BURNS, E. L. M. *Their name is mud* (Beaver, outfit 267, no. 1, June, 1936, 14-9). An examination of the place-names of the lakes, streams, and mountains of Canada by a member of the geographical board of Canada.

*Canada, descriptive atlas*. Issued by direction of Hon. T. A. Crerar, minister of immigration and colonization. Ottawa: N.d. Pp. 80. A useful, illustrated geography.

DESCHÊNES, E.-B. *Au sujet du cap de Pratto ou Prato* (B.R.H., XLII (6), juin, 1936, 341-6). An attempt to explain and place Cap de Prato mentioned in the early maps of Quebec.

Jean-Baptiste Du Berger (B.R.H., XLII (8), août, 1936, 491-3). A note on J.-B. Du Berger (b. 1767), who was employed by the government in the late 18th and early 19th centuries to copy old military maps, and who made a model of Quebec.

MILLER, G. J. and PARKINS, A. E. *Geography of North America*. Ed. 2. New York: Wiley, 1935. Pp. 632. (\$4.50) This comprehensive text has been largely rewritten. Canada and Newfoundland are dealt with in part 3.

RASHLEIGH, EDWARD C. *Among the waterfalls of the world*. London: Jarrolds, 1935. Pp. 288. (18s.) Includes descriptions and photographs of the major Canadian waterfalls.

*The society's new map of Canada* (National geographic mag., LXIX (6), June, 1936, 769-76). The American Geographic Society has prepared a ten-colour wall map of Canada; it is sold to members of the society for 50 cents, paper; 75 cents mounted on linen.

TAYLOR, GRIFFITH. *Fundamental factors in Canadian geography* (Canadian geographical jour., XII (3), March, 1936, 161-71). A study of geological control, climatic controls, and past and future distributions of population. Professor Taylor uses the technique which is an essential feature of modern geographical research, and his article is profusely illustrated with diagrams.

#### (4) Trade and Commerce

DAMPIER, J. LAURENCE. *Early history of Smallman & Ingram, Limited* (Quar. rev. of commerce, Univ. of Western Ontario, III (3), spring, 1936, 131-9). A history of a business of "retail dry goods merchants" of London, Ontario, established in 1877, which throws sidelights on the early history of the city.

MEARS, ELIOT GRINNELL. *Maritime trade of western United States*. California: Stanford Univ. Press. Oxford Univ. Press, 1935. Pp. xvii, 538. (\$4.00) See p. 333.

O'LEARY, M. GRATTAN. *A legacy of character* (Maclean's mag., March 1, 1936, 25-6, 50; March 15, 1936, 23, 51-2). The story of the Molson family of Montreal who, for 150 years, have been leaders in business in Canada.

TUCKER, GILBERT NORMAN. *The Canadian commercial revolution, 1845-1851*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1936. Pp. [vi], 258. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.

#### (5) Immigration, Emigration, Colonization, and Population

*L'émigration britannique vers les pays d'empire* (Bul. quotidien, 17ème année, no. 60, 12 mars, 1936). A discussion of the overseas settlement board.

MACDONALD, COLIN S. *Early highland emigration to Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island from 1770-1853* (Nova Scotia Hist. Soc. collections, XXIII, 1936, 41-8).

NELSON, HELGE. *Kolonisation och befolkningsföskjutning inom Kanadas prärie-provinser* (Ymer, Stockholm, 54e année, 1934, 161-80).

### VI. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

BROWN, E. K. *On academic freedom* (Dalhousie rev., XVI (2), July, 1936, 216-27). On academic freedom with special reference to Canada.

CHAUSSE, FERNAND. *Un peu d'histoire... légale* (Action universitaire, Montréal, II (4), mars, 1936, 72-3). A brief history of law schools in Montreal.

- DUNLOP, W. J. *Adult education in Canada* (World Association for Adult Education bul., II, May, 1936, 1-12).
- L'École de Médecine de Québec* (B.R.H., XLII (8), août, 1936, 483).
- Education in Canada—recent progress* (Education outlook, XIII, spring, 1936, 25-6).
- GORDON, J. KING. *Great light over Nova Scotia* (World wide, Montreal, May 30, 1936, 433-5). Observations on the work of the extension department of St. Francis Xavier University.
- HARVEY, D. C. *Early academies in Nova Scotia, 1841-50* (Jour. of Education for Nova Scotia, VII (3), April-May, 1936, 363-8). An outline of the attempt of the provincial government to establish a complete system of county academies in Nova Scotia.
- LEACOCK, STEPHEN. "Academic freedom" (Maclean's mag., Feb. 1, 1936, 14-5, 38-9). A discussion of what things professors and students have the right to say and to do, with special reference to Canadian professors and Canadian students, past and present.
- LEHMANN, H. *Deutsche Zeitung in Kanada; Aus der Fruehzeit Kanadas; Der Kampf um die deutsche Schule in Westkanada* (Deutsche Arbeit, Berlin, IX, 1935, 482-6; XII, 1935, 652-4; I, 1936, 26-31; II, 1936, 72-8).
- LOGAN, J. W. *A history of the Halifax Grammar School, High School, and Academy from 1789 to 1894* (Nova Scotia Hist. Soc. collections, XXIII, 1936, 117-35).
- LORTIE, LÉON. *Les sciences à Montréal et à Québec au XIXième siècle* (Action universitaire, II (3), fév., 1936, 46-7, ix).
- MAURULT, OLIVIER. *L'enseignement supérieur à Montréal* (Revue trimestrielle canadienne, no. 86, juin, 1936, 113-24). An historical survey.
- New Brunswick, Chief superintendent of education. *Annual report of the schools of New Brunswick, 1934-35*. Fredericton: 1936. Pp. 292.
- Quebec, Province of. *Report of the superintendent of education for the year 1934-5*. Quebec: King's Printer. 1935. Pp. xxiii, 236.
- RIBOULET, L. *L'instruction au Canada sous le régime français (1636-1760)* (Revue catholique des institutions et du droit, Paris, 1934, 252-74, 297-307). Gives in particular details concerning the school of hydrography founded at Quebec by the Jesuits.
- ROBBINS, J. E. *Canadian education in the light of social needs* (Year book of education, 1936, London, Evans Brothers Ltd. in association with the London Univ. Institute of Education).
- Saskatchewan department of education. *Annual report, 1934*. Regina: King's Printer. 1936. Pp. 63.
- WALTER, FELIX. *The universities and the depression* (New frontier, I (1), April, 1936, 4-5). Deals with the Canadian universities.
- WEEKES, MARY. *A college built on faith* (Maclean's mag., Feb. 15, 1936, 26, 28). The story of Notre Dame College at Wilcox, Sask., and its president, Father Athol Murray.
- WILL, J. S. *Education in Ontario—prolegomena* (Canadian forum, XVI (185), June, 1936, 11-2).

## VII. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

- ADAIR, E. R. *The church of L'Enfant Jesus, Pointe-aux-Trembles* (B.R.H., XLII (7), juillet, 1936, 411-21). The tale of the building and equipment of one of the oldest churches on the island of Montreal.
- BONIN, M. R. *Les archives sulpiciennes source d'histoire ecclésiastique* (Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Église Catholique, rapport, 1934-1935, 39-50). A description of the various important collections in the Sulpician archives.
- BURNS, JOHN E. *The development of Roman Catholic church government in Halifax from 1760-1853* (Nova Scotia Hist. Soc. collections, XXIII, 1936, 89-102). The paper mentions those who held office in Halifax from the government-supported missionary to the Acadians and Indians in 1760 to the first archbishop in 1852. Incidentally a list of the parish priests and their assistants is established.
- Canadian Catholic Historical Association. *Report 1934-1935*. Pp. 73. Includes reports, historical papers, list of members, and the constitution; also the reports, papers, etc., of the French section.
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